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*Viola da Gamba*  
*Society*  
*Journal*

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# The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain

## 2014-15

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Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for The Viola da Gamba Society Journal, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted by e-mail as well as in hard copy.

A style guide is available on the vdgs web-site.

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## Abbreviations:

GMO *Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root

<<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

IMCCM *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008). Now online at

<[www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html)>

MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher

<<http://www.mgg-online.com>>

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman

<[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)>.

RISM *Repertoire internationale des sources musicales*.

<[www.rism.info](http://www.rism.info)>

## Editorial

There is a decided continental flavour to the contents of this issue. First Joëlle Morton provides an informative and comprehensive survey of extant music *alla bastarda*, or for *viola bastarda*, examining the arguments for and against whether the term refers to a technique or to an instrument, and her survey catalogues the extant repertory. In case this is relatively unfamiliar territory for our readers she helpfully also provides links to many pieces she has edited and to library facsimiles now available online.

Twenty years ago there was considerable excitement when Sotheby's auctioned a volume of fourteen previously unknown pieces by Charles Frederick Abel, but little was heard of them afterwards. Recently the owner has made them available to scholars by placing them on loan to the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. Thomas Fritzsche was the first to examine them, preparing an edition and recording them. His lively account of Abel's later life records his trip to Germany, and his alcoholism which brought about his death, contrasting with the composer's duties as teacher to Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke, who owned the book. It is argued that the pieces are late works. Peter Holman reviews both the edition and CD recording and has updated his catalogue of Abel's composition now that the new pieces can be added and we print it in full again here. This will be added to the *Thematic Index* at the next update in the summer of 2015.

Three more important reviews appear. John Milsom, while warmly welcoming Tessa Murray's book on Morley's publishing activities, expands his remit to caution what can be deduced from available evidence concerning the economics of publishing, the size of print runs, and similar topics. Alan Brown surveys the wide variety of essays in a volume of papers relating to the links between musicians in several countries both through patronage and through religious bonds. Consort and vocal music too is given a place in the discussions, even though keyboard music has pride of place. Finally Richard Carter examines 'the only German language tutor devoted entirely to the viol to have survived from either the Renaissance or Baroque' which, like the Abel music, is another excellent publication by Edition Güntersberg; the facsimile is edited by Bettina Hoffman.

ANDREW ASHBEE

# Redefining the Viola Bastarda: a Most Spurious Subject

JOËLLE MORTON

It is a reflection of this remarkable information age that over the course of just a few decades a subject rose from complete obscurity to become mainstream. Nowadays scholars and performers who specialize in music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries easily recognize the terms *viola bastarda* and *alla bastarda*, which are said to refer to either a style of composition or a specific body of repertoire. In an academic context, it was due to the pioneering work of Veronika Gutmann (1978) and Jason Paras (1986) that brought these terms to prominence and defined the parameters by which they are currently understood. Gutmann began the process by arguing that the *viola bastarda* wasn't *per se* a special type of instrument, but rather a form of composition: "The *bastarda* character refers first and foremost to a way of processing an existing vocal model. A clear preference for chansons and madrigals over the motet should be noted."<sup>1</sup> Paras went further, designating this music specifically for the viola da gamba, discussing the sizes/tunings of instruments that performed it and fleshing out the basic compositional features: "The descriptions point towards two distinct sizes of *viola bastarda*... An examination of the extant music supports this hypothesis...[some] requires an instrument with a low D [...and other] music requires an instrument with low G'..."<sup>2</sup> The word *bastarda* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical terminology referred to an art of performance that reduced a polyphonic composition to a single melodic line, derived from the original parts and spanning their ranges..."<sup>3</sup> Paras's work is easily accessed and to date provides the most detail on the subject. It also serves as a musical anthology with most of the works attributed to the genre. And this has allowed summarizations such as the one presently found in the *New Grove Dictionary*, by Lucy Robinson:

Viola bastarda: A style of virtuoso solo bass viol playing favoured in Italy from about 1580 to about 1630, which condensed a polyphonic composition to a single line, whilst retaining the original range and with the addition of elaborate diminutions, embellishments and new counterpoint. The *bastarda* technique was not exclusive to the viol... it could be performed on 'organs, lutes, harps and similar instruments'; however, the viol's agility and three and a half octave range made it 'the queen' of the *bastarda* style... 39 *viola bastarda* compositions survive... During the 50 years that the *viola bastarda* flourished the technique developed from one that found its roots in the *prima pratica* to the latest *seconda pratica* style, experimenting with highly virtuosic and

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<sup>1</sup> *Der Bastardcharakter bezieht sich in erster Linie auf die Bearbeitungsweise eines bereits bestehenden Vokalsatzes. Dabei ist eine eindeutige Bevorzugung der Chansons und Madrigale gegenüber der Motette festzustellen.* V. Gutmann, 'Viola bastarda – Instrument oder Diminutionspraxis?', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35, #3 (1978), 196.

<sup>2</sup> J. Paras. *The Music for Viola Bastarda* (Bloomington, 1986), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Paras, *op. cit.*, xvii.

rhetoical improvisation over a supporting continuo bass...There are two examples of *viola bastarda* music outside Italy.<sup>24</sup>

Although truncated and removed from the more detailed context of their original essays, these descriptions are clear in outlining the features by which the *bastarda* genre is currently understood. So it is something of a surprise that these simple statements sometimes fail to hold weight when compared to the musical literature with which they are associated. First, though the primary compositional feature is said to be a condensation and embellishment of multiple lines of a polyphonic work, seven pieces in the Paras anthology are *passaggi* based on a single line. And where *bastarda* terminology is said to apply to music that is based specifically on a pre-existing vocal model, one of the earliest known pieces by Dalla Casa is based on instrumental polyphony, while *ricercate* by Virgiliano and *toccate* by Bassani have neither a polyphonic basis, nor are they associated with pre-existing, let alone texted material. So if the current definition is held, a sizable percentage of the (already relatively small number of) works in the Paras anthology would have to be excluded from the official tally. More than this, however, a variety of 'obvious' questions are completely unaddressed by the current parameters. There are many repertoires, some for bowed strings, some for voices/other instruments, which are characterized as embellished versions of pre-existing vocal polyphony. What is it that distinguishes *bastarda* music from those other repertoires? Division-style music that is centred on treble range parts, for example, is very similar in style, and is quite virtuosic, and may be played by a bowed string instrument (some on a fairly large one, even). Why is this music not considered part of the *bastarda* repertoire, when other pieces that are based on single line are included? And just how extensive a range is exploited? Perhaps a piece must reflect a certain range in order to qualify as *bastarda* music? If so, what range? Finally, there exists a sizable stack of documents where the term *viola bastarda* was notated that was either unknown to Gutmann and Paras as they were doing their research, or that was dismissed because it deviated from the other repertoire around which their definition was structured. Those works incorporate the *viola bastarda* into a larger ensemble, reflect knowledge of the genre outside of Italy, and many date to a slightly later period in the seventeenth century. These many inconsistencies call into question the current understanding and categorization of the *bastarda* genre; so the time is surely nigh to reassess this subject much more carefully and fully.

In the past, study of this subject has begun with an examination of literary sources that provide written explanations for the term *viola bastarda*. Unfortunately, there are remarkably few detailed historical sources of this nature, and the writers are not only somewhat brief and vague, but their descriptions are in many ways contradictory. Gutmann was forthright in saying that when followed, these literary sources lead and have led, to quite different conclusions.<sup>5</sup> She and Paras favoured one line of thought and adapted it to become their working definition, without addressing the inconsistencies that

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<sup>24</sup> L. Robinson. 'Viola bastarda', *GMO* (accessed 27 April 2014).

<sup>5</sup> *Wie eingangs erwähnt, sind die Darstellungen der Viola bastarda in der Literatur sehr widersprüchlich. Sie vertreten im wesentlichen drei verschiedene Meinungen, die im einzelnen gewisse Modifizierungen erfahren können...* Gutmann, *op. cit.*, 181.

resulted between it and the repertoire to which they believed it applied. I believe this approach forms the foundation on which many of the current misunderstandings rest. Though literary descriptions will of course be taken into account later in this discussion, for now, I prefer to begin an analysis based on an empirical approach, with an examination of all known original *musical* sources on which the terms *viola bastarda* or *alla bastarda* were notated. There are more than 60 musical works that may be considered in this light, and their examination enables observations about what features hold true across all sources and begins to clarify the details that set these pieces apart from other repertoires. From there, it is much easier a) to examine literary descriptions to see what accords with the musical evidence and to determine if they can shed any additional light; b) to formally define a better set of parameters for speaking about this repertoire and its scope; and c) to start to identify additional music that may justifiably be considered as part of the genre even if it doesn't bear specific terminology.

### **The materials labelled '*viola bastarda*':**

Sixteenth and seventeenth century composers were seemingly familiar with the term '*viola bastarda*' and notated it in a wide variety of original performing parts, scores and instruction manuals. Specifically what the term implied to each writer is not important just yet; the mere fact that it held enough meaning to be written down attributes a measure of validity. A careful screening has been performed to identify all pieces of music that to date are known to bear this explicit descriptor.<sup>6</sup> For the moment, any pieces that do not bear this specific instrumental designation are being omitted, and that means that eleven works

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<sup>6</sup> In order to be considered 'valid' and included in this part of the study, the term *viola bastarda* must have been appended at the time of the creation of the musical source and it must be evident that the term relates specifically to the piece in question. Generally, this term is found as a heading notated at the top of the musical work, but occasionally it applies as a heading for a group of pieces (as in Dalla Casa, or Bonizzi, for example), or sometimes the term is used in the *tavola* but not in the actual musical score. All works that have to date been considered part of the *bastarda* genre have been scrutinized carefully for these details; these parameters eliminate 11 pieces in the Paras anthology. Also deemed as invalid are 20 pieces from 2 collections that may be found listed in RISM as bearing a *viola bastarda* appellation. In each case, this term was determined to be spurious because it was appended, and inappropriately, in more modern times. The first collection, B-Br, Ms Fétis 7328, is a group of 10 pieces that were compiled/copied by François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), as part of his musicological research and for use concerts in Brussels during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The works are generally by well-known composers. A very few (for example Marenzio and Malvezzi) have credible concordances that are already included, but most, when compared to older, more authentic sources for these works, can be shown not to have originally borne a *viola bastarda* assignation. For details on this collection, see W. Corten, 'Fétis, transcripteur et vulgarisateur', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 50 (1996). I am very grateful to Richard Sutcliffe for his assistance examining these works on my behalf. A second group of 10 pieces is found at B-MEaa, as part of Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18. In this case, each work is a concerted religious vocal setting with Latin text and each piece has a part for 'viola' or 'tenor viola' that was bibliographically catalogued as '*vla bastarda*' when the pieces were entered for listing in RISM. For more information, see S. Beghrin, 'Une collection musicale d'origine Italienne (première moitié du 18<sup>ième</sup> siècle) dans les archives Archiépiscopales de Malines', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 56 #2 (2009). I am very grateful to Gerrit Vanden Bosch, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels for his assistance confirming none of these sources bear genuine *viola bastarda* terminology.

in the Paras anthology are excluded from the present analysis because they do not meet this primary screening condition. However, an additional nineteen works not included by Paras do bear this term and are therefore relevant. The result is a total of 51 individual pieces (see Table 1a) specifically marked for *viola bastarda* that are contained in 13 sources, representing the work of 14 authors. The earliest known documentation for the term dates to 1584 when it was employed by Girolamo Dalla Casa in the *Libro secondo* of *Il vero modo di diminuir* and the last known documentation comes from a Germanic document thought to date to the 1660s. There are only a few sources where the word '*bastarda*' stands alone without any further appended qualifier to describe a type of instrument or voice. In fact, the sole instances of this occur in Jarzębski and Breslau 114 and since both of those sources also include works where the full term *viola bastarda* appears and where it was not linked to other instruments/voices, I have found it reasonable to view them as an abbreviation; those pieces are therefore included in the current list. The 51 works ascribed for *viola bastarda* are too numerous for individual discussion, but many details for each piece have been compiled and tabulated (see Table 1b). All works that are not easily available in facsimile or via the Paras anthology have been transcribed and uploaded to [imslp.org](http://imslp.org). (Full details and electronic links are provided in the Appendix.) All works discussed in this analysis are therefore readily accessible for those who wish to view/examine the sources themselves.

An examination of the 51 works labelled specifically with the *viola bastarda* designation is adequate as the basis for initial detailed analysis. These pieces reflect a great deal of variety. Their features are summarized in the following discussion and statistics:

### **Overall Form/Structure:**

37 (of the total 51) pieces are based on identifiable pre-existing polyphonic works.

Of those 37 pieces, one is based on instrumental polyphony ('Petit Iacquet' by Dalla Casa)<sup>7</sup> and 36 are based on vocal polyphony. Of the 36 pieces based on vocal polyphony: 17 are modelled on French chansons, 16 on Italian madrigals and three on Latin-texted motets.

Of the 37 pieces based on polyphony, 30 embellish multiple lines of the original model, whereas seven primarily embellish a single voice. Those that do not embellish more than one voice are primarily centred on the bass line of the original model, but are not confined or limited to the same octave/register as the original bass line.

Of these 37 works based on polyphonic models, 29 employ the *viola bastarda* as a solo melodic instrument, while eight incorporate it into a larger ensemble setting.

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<sup>7</sup> This piece is based on an instrumental *canzon da sonar*, by Claudio Merulo. The identification was made and described by Bernard Thomas, in the preface to his performing edition for the *bastarda* works of Dalla Casa, LPM REP6, (1981).



**Table 1a**  
**Music where the term ‘*viola bastarda*’ appears in the original source:**

(see Appendix for full citations and links to scores)

Date:	Author:	Publication:	Dedication:	Title:
1584	Girolamo Dalla Casa	Il vero modo di diminuir...Libro secondo	Mario Bevilacqua - Verona	Mais languirage
				Qual e piu grand'o amore
				Ung gay bergier
				Ancor che co'l partire
				Petit Iacquet
				Ben qui si mostra'l ciel
				Martin menoit
				Non gemme non fin oro
				Doulce memoire
				Come havran fin
1589/91	Luca Marenzio	Intermedii et Concerti	music for Ferdinando/Christina - Florence	Secondo Intermedio: Sinfonia
	Cristofano Malvezzi			Quarto Intermedio: Sinfonia
1592	Richardo Rogniono	Passaggi per potersi essercitare...	no dedication	Ancor che col partire
				Ancor che col partire
				Un ghai bergier

	Rogniono, cont'd			Un ghai bergier
1600	Aurelio Virgiliano	Il Dolcimelo	no dedication	Ricerca
				Ricercar
1617	Orazio Bassani	Rossi manuscript	no dedication	Susanna un giorno
				Cara la vita mia
1620	Francesco Rognoni	Selve de variï passaggi...parte seconda	Libro I dedicated Sigismondo III - Poland	Susana d'Orlando
				Susana
				Vestiva I colli per la Viola
1626	Vincenzo Bonizzi	Alcune Opere di diversi autori	Margarita Duchessa di Parma	Canzone Detta Dolce memoy
				Invidioso Amor
				Iouisanze
				Canzone D'Amor me playns
				Canzone En vox adieux
				Altro modo. En vox adieux
				Pijs ne me peult venir
				La bella netta ignuda
				Hellas coment
1627	Adam Jarzębski	Concerti e canzoni a 2, 3, 4 strumenti	no dedication, but employed by Sigismundo III	Concerto terzo*
				Diligam te Domine

	Jarzębski, cont'd			Cantate Domino*
				Secunda Pars(*)
				In Deo speravit*
				In te Domine, speravi*
				Susanna videns*
				Venite Exultemus*
				Cantate Joh. Gabrielis*
				Küstrinella*
				Tamburetta*
				Norimberga*
1630s?	anon	Breslau Mus. Ms. 114	no dedication	Anchor che col Partire
				Fantasia in Bastart**
ca 1649	Giovanni Valentini	D-Kl, Ms. 2° Mus. 51o	no dedication, but employed by Ferdinand III	In te Domine, speravi
ca 1649	Benedikt Lechler	A-KR L12	no dedication, but for Benedictine use	Laudibus cives resonant***
				Ad caenam agni providi****
ca 1660?	anon	Breslau Mus. Ms. 112	no dedication	Sinfonia #3 a 4
1660s?	anon	Darmstadt ms/Tappert	no dedication	Höchlich werde gezwungen ich

\* Only the word '*Bastarda*' appears in these works, but '*viola bastarda*' is inferred because that term appears elsewhere in the source.

(\*) Secunda pars does not bear instrumental designation headings in any of the parts, but there is an instruction at the end of the previous work, Cantate Domino, that reads '*segue Secunda pars*' indicating that these two pieces are meant to be linked. The implication is that they would both employ the same instrumentation.

\*\* Only the word '*Bastart*' is used, but '*viola bastarda*' may be inferred because that term appears elsewhere in the source.

\*\*\* The title of this work is misspelled in RISM, where it is catalogued as 'Laudibus viver.' The piece is based on a well-known Benedictine hymn, with the correct words (as listed in this table) legible in the manuscript source.

\*\*\*\* The title of this work is misspelled in RISM, where it is catalogued as 'Ad coenam Agni providi.' Once again, the piece is based on a well-known text, with the correct spelling (as listed in this table) visible in the manuscript source.

**Table 1b****Details for the pieces where the term '*viola bastarda*' appears in the original source:**

<b>Date:</b>	<b>Author:</b>	<b>Title:</b>	<b>Clefs used:</b>	<b>Scoring:</b>	<b>B.C:</b>	<b>Range of bastarda part:</b>	<b>Polyphonic</b>	<b>Lines embellished:</b>
1584	Dalla Casa	Mais languirage	C1, C3, F3	viola bastarda (vb)	N	G - c"	Y	M(multiple)
		Qual e piu grand'o amore	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	F - c"	Y	M
		Ung gay bergier	C1, C2, C3, F4	vb	N	D - d"	Y	M
		Ancor che co'l partire	C1, C3, F4	vb	N	E - b'	Y	M
		Petit Iacquet	g2, C2, C3, F3	vb	N	G - f"	Y-inst	M
		Ben qui si mostra'l ciel	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	E - c"	Y	M
		Martin menoit	g2, C2, C3, F3	vb	N	G - d"	Y	M
		Non gemme non fin oro	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	F - d"	Y	M
		Doulce memoire	C1, C2, C3, F4	vb	N	D - d"	Y	M
		Come havran fin	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	E - c"	Y	M
1589/91	Marenzio	Secondo Intermedio: Sinfonia		ensemble			(N)	
	Malvezzi	Quarto Intermedio: Sinfonia		ensemble			(N)	
1592	Rogniono	Ancor che col partire facile	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	E - d"	Y	M
		Ancor che col partire	g2, C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	D - b"	Y	M
		Un ghai bergier facile	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	D - d"	Y	M
		Un ghai bergier	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	D - f"	Y	M
c1600	Virgiliano	Ricerca	C1, C4, F4	vb+lute	(Y)	G - e"	N	
		Ricercar	C1, C4, F4	vb	N	A - e"	N	

c1617	Bassani	Susanna un giorno	g2, C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	D - f' (G' – b flat')	Y	just B(ass)
		Cara la vita mia	g2, C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	D - a" (G' – d'')	Y	just B
1620	Rognoni	Susana d'Orlando	F3, F4	violone/tombone*	N	B' flat - f'	Y	M
		Susana	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	D - e flat"	Y	M
		Vestiva i colli	g2, C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	D - g"	Y	M
1626	Bonizzi	Canzone Detta Dolce memoy	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	A' - d"	Y	just B
		Invidioso Amor	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	G' - d"	Y	mostly B
		Iouisanze	C1, C2, C3, C4, F3, F4	vb+b	Y	A' - c"	Y	M
		Canzone D'Amor me playns	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	G' - d"	Y	M
		Canzone En vox adieux	C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	G' - c"	Y	mostly B
		Altro modo. En vox adieux	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	B' flat - c"	Y	mostly new
		Pijs ne me peult venir	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	G' - f"	Y	mostly B
		La bella netta ignuda	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	A' - d"	Y	M
		Hellas coment	C1, C2, C3, C4, F4	vb+b	Y	C' - c"	Y	M
1627	Jarzębski	Concerto terzo	C3, C4, F4	tr, vb+b**	Y	G - g'	N	
		Diligam te Domine	C3, C4, F4, F5	[tr], vb+b	Y	C - f'	Y	M
		Cantate Domino	C4, F4, F5	tr, vb+b	Y	C – g' (G' – d')	Y	M
		Secunda pars	C4, F4	tr, vb+b	Y	D – g' (A' – d')	Y	M
		In Deo speravit	C4, F4	tr, vb+b	Y	D - g'	Y	M
		In te Domine, speravi	C4, F4	tr, vb+b	Y	D – g'	Y	M
		Susanna videns	C3, C4, F4, F5	tr, vb+b	Y	C – g'	Y	M
		Venite Exultemus	C3, C4, F4	tr, vb+b	Y	D – g'	Y	M
		Cantate Joh. Gabrielis	C4, F4	tr, vb+b	Y	D – g'	Y	M

	Jarzębski, cont'd	Küstrinella	C3, C4, F4/C4, F4	2 tr, vb+b	Y	G – a'/G – f'	N	
		Tamburetta	C3, C4, F4/C4/F4	tr, 2vb+b	Y	F – a'/D – f'	N	
		Norimberga	C3, C4, F4, F5/C4, F4, F5	tr, 2vb+b	Y	C – a'/C – g'	N	
1630s?	Anon	Anchor che col Partire	C1, C3, C4, F4	vb	N	E – d''	Y	M
		Fantasia in Bastart	C3, F3, F4	vb	N	F# – g'	N	
c1649	Valentini	In te Domine, speravi***	C1, C3, C4, F4	B, vb+org	Y	D – d''	N	
c1649	Lechler	Laudibus cives resonant	C3, F4	2 S, B, vb+org	Y	D – a'	N	
		Ad caenam agni providi****	C3, F4	2 S, B, vb+org		D – c''	N	
c1660?	Anon	Sinfonia #3 a 4	C3, F4	3 vln, vb+b	Y	D – a'	N	
1660s?	Anon	Höchlich werde gezwungen ich		S, vb	N	D – g'	N	

\* Francesco Rognoni's Susana d'Orlando is designated '*per Violone over Trombone alla Bastarda*'

\*\* The *secunda vox* part to Jarzębski's Concerto Terzo bears the instrumental assignation '*Trombone*' but the *prima vox* reads '*Soprano e Bastarda*.' It is the sole work in this source where the trombone is suggested, but for its presumed *viola bastarda* relevance, it is included, here.

\*\*\*Though it bears the same title as other works for the *viola bastarda* that are modeled on preexisting polyphony, a pre-existing setting for Valentini's In te Domine, speravi has not been identified, and seems to be newly composed.

\*\*\*\* This work is incomplete in the sole manuscript source, although the first 59 measures indicate enough details to be useful for this study. There is an entire statement of the bass ostinato that would appear to lack a melody (likely to have been a vocal text) above it, and the piece breaks off abruptly at the end of the second manuscript page (as listed in RISM). I have as yet been unable to confirm if the continuation/conclusion of this piece may be found on additional page(s) elsewhere in the collection.

Of the 37 works, all but four appear in the same key/mode as the original model.

The 37 works based on pre-existing polyphony appear in seven sources, dating from 1584-1630s, representing five Italian and two northern composers/sources.

Fourteen (out of 51) of the pieces that bear a *viola bastarda* assignation are not embellishments of polyphonic works. These take the following forms: four are labelled as concerti, three as sinfonias, two as ricercars, three are concerted Latin hymns/motets, one is a fantasia and another a Lutheran hymn setting.

The two ricercars (Virgiliano) and one fantasia (Breslau 114) are elaborate solos. One of the ricercars specifically calls for lute accompaniment (though this part is regrettably lacking in the source); the other two are unaccompanied. Even though the manuscript is incomplete and no bass line was notated for Virgiliano, a simple bass line can easily be extrapolated from the solo part, with the melodic writing then functioning as divisions upon it.

The four concerti (Jarzębski)<sup>8</sup> and one sinfonia (Breslau 112)<sup>9</sup> incorporate the *viola bastarda* as part of a larger ensemble setting. Two of Jarzębski's pieces require two *violas bastardae* and all four of his pieces require an additional unspecified melodic treble instrument. The sinfonia in Breslau 112 pairs a single *viola bastarda* with three violins. All five of these works have separate basso continuo lines.

The three concerted Latin hymns/motets (Valentini and Lechler) combine an elaborate *viola bastarda* line paired with voice(s) and organ basso continuo. The works by Benedikt Lechler utilize *ostinato* basses for their structural frameworks<sup>10</sup>. In all three pieces, the *viola bastarda* part does not play continuously, but instead alternates with the vocal parts. Though the term '*obbligato*' does not appear in any of these manuscripts, that is a more modern term that comes to mind for this style of writing. All three pieces have independent bass parts.

The Marenzio (a 5) and Malvezzi (a 6) sinfonias are unusual in that they are polyphonic instrumental works, and neither work specifies the precise line to be played by the *viola bastarda*. None of the polyphonic lines are virtuosic and the writing is entirely typical of instrumental consort music of the period. However, precise lists for the instruments (and individual names of players) were included in the publication of these works, said to have performed these

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<sup>8</sup> I am very grateful to Julia Vetö and Giso Grimm for calling my attention to Jarzębski's works at a time prior to the manuscript resurfacing. I am additionally grateful to Michał Bylina and Professor Wanda Rutkowska for communication about the relocation of this source.

<sup>9</sup> I am very grateful to Tim Carter for sharing copies of this manuscript with me.

<sup>10</sup> I am extremely grateful to Florian Wieninger and his stepfather Erich Hagmüller, for their assistance obtaining copies of the two Lechler pieces on my behalf from the Benediktinerstift at Kremsmünster.



pieces at the 1589 Florentine wedding of Fernando de Medici and Christine of Lorraine. In that setting, these pieces were realized by a large ensemble with fully double the number of players necessary to cover all the parts, comprising treble range melody instruments, plus numerous chord-playing instruments in addition to the *viola bastarda*. It is unknown which instrument played which line, if any realized more than one line, or if any of them was creating virtuosic embellishment on any of the given lines. These works clearly do not have a vocal basis, and equally clearly, the *viola bastarda* was incorporated as part of a larger ensemble. The name of the specific *viola bastarda* player (Durtio Isorelli) was even noted. Because the nature of the *bastarda* writing cannot be determined, these pieces are not greatly useful to this discussion and will heretofore be excluded. They should, however, be accorded some measure of import; they confirm that even in its earliest period, in Italy, the *viola bastarda* played more than just solo lines based on vocal polyphony, and could be employed in an ensemble context.

The fourteen works not based on pre-existing polyphony appear in eight sources, dating from 1589-c1660. Three Italian and six northern composers/sources are represented.

### **Notation, Writing Style, Accompaniment:**

Setting aside the two ensemble sinfonias discussed above, there are now a total 49 pieces (representing the work of 12 composers) that would seem a fairly plausible written record of musical lines that were realized by the *viola bastarda*. Of these:

- 48 pieces are notated in staff notation. One is notated in French tablature.

- Of the pieces that embellish multiple lines of a polyphonic model, eleven (but the work of just two composers: Dalla Casa and the unknown composer of the setting of ‘Anchor che col partire’ in Breslau 114) feature a clef change to indicate where the line moves to a different voice in the original model. All other pieces modelled on polyphony exhibit clef changes that are a reflection of changing *tessiturae*, with a seeming notational preference of staying within the staff as much as possible.

- Of the pieces not based on a polyphonic model, one (the *Fantasia in Bastart* from Breslau 114) occasionally uses clef changes to indicate a move to a different voice, even though the work is not modelled on pre-existing polyphony.

Stylistically, the 48 pieces in staff notation have a number of obvious things in common. Each and every work is through-composed and the appearance of chords is negligible. I use the word negligible instead of ‘non-existent’ because there are two minor exceptions: The *Fantasia in Bastart* in Breslau 114 has chords in a four-measure section at the very end of the piece, and Lechler’s ‘Ad caenam agni providi’ has three double stops in immediate succession, outlining a

cadential 4-3 figure. These are the sole instances of chordal writing in all 51 pieces.

These are entirely 'high art' forms and all are through-composed. There are no dances or popular songs represented.

The overall compositional style in the 48 works in staff notation may be characterized as elaborate 'linear' writing<sup>11</sup> with division-style *passaggi*. Though there is of course variety from piece to piece and composer to composer, much of the *viola bastarda* writing may be described as 'athletic' and even 'virtuosic.' The lines range across an impressive compass (see below), and there are almost always long strings of sixteenths and thirty second notes with scant moments of repose. The compositional process may however be described as contrapuntal, since no matter whether based on pre-existing or new line(s), standard rules of counterpoint are observed, with consonances on strong beats, large leaps followed by contrary motion, no leaps to dissonances, etc. The nature of the writing comes across as very 'soloistic.' This type of writing is in marked contrast to the much more modest writing a bass instrument would have realized in a polyphonic consort setting, where prominence is democratically traded back and forth among various players so that no single player is in the spotlight for the whole piece. Also, though the writing is essentially improvisatory 'in nature,' these pieces were clearly very carefully crafted. In some cases they may have been set down as examples of the genre for others to study and copy, but in their own right, these specific works were surely intended to be played primarily as they stand; they offer little opportunity for additional embellishment, except perhaps occasional *affetti*. The velocity of the notes and the changing of registers, if not very precise loyalty to pre-existing material would necessarily lead to the conclusion that this repertoire was the purveyance of highly trained and skilled players and prepared specifically for public display.

Of 49 total pieces, 27 provide a bass line or a figured bass, whereas 22 do not include any form of accompaniment. 17 of the pieces with bass accompaniment are based on pre-existing polyphony and in each of those cases the accompanying line is an accurate *basso seguente* setting for the original model.

The single piece 'Höchlich werde gezwungen ich' that is notated in French tablature (suited to a 6-string bass viol in normal tuning) is a setting of a German Lutheran hymn, and comes from a manuscript for which the date and provenance are murky. The manuscript used to be located in Darmstadt but is now lost, and the provisional date of 1660s is speculative based on similarity of content to materials in other continental lyra viol sources. Here, the '*Viola Bastarta*' part functions entirely as accompanying bass for a separate vocal text, also provided. There are double stop and chordal elements to the part. Apart from its terminology, it bears little similarity to anything

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<sup>11</sup> I use the term 'linear' as a description for part-writing that is specifically not chordal in nature. This seems the easiest descriptor for *viola bastarda* music, regardless of how florid, or not, the overall style may be.

else under discussion. Its tablature notation, bass line function and chordal elements are not characteristic of any of the other sources. As such, I believe it should be viewed with some scepticism and treated as an anomaly. More about this piece, later.

### ***Ambitus* and Transposition Issues:**

The cumulative notated *ambitus* of the 51 pieces bearing a *viola bastarda* assignation is exactly four octaves, from G' to g". In any single piece, the smallest range called for is two octaves (Jarzębski's Concerto terzo) and the largest range is three octaves and a minor seventh (Bonizzi's 'Pijs ne me peult venir').

Almost all of the polyphonic-based pieces appear in the key/modality of the original on which they are modelled. Only four have been transposed, and all of those, to a higher range on the printed page: Bassani's two works are a perfect fifth higher and Jarzębski's settings of 'Cantate Domino' (modelled on 'Vestiva') and the *Secunda pars* ('Cosi le chiome mie') are a perfect fourth higher. In general, this trend may also be seen to be typical of the multitudes of embellished polyphonic settings for other instruments; in their extensive survey of the diminution repertoire, Richard Erig and Veronika Gutmann mention only four additional works where a key/mode is changed.<sup>12</sup> So this would seem to indicate a great fidelity to the original modality, at least as a fundamental 'constructional' device. The aberrations in the *bastarda* repertoire may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The accompanying parts to Bassani's works are notated entirely in tenor clef; here, the use of a *chiavette* suggests that the pieces were to be played in transposition. (Very simply, if a larger instrument was substituted for a smaller one, but the larger instrument 'read' the notes as if being played on the smaller one, the piece could easily be returned to its original register and tonality. Instrument sizes will be discussed further, below.) The fact that Bassani 'knew' and composed for a larger instrument that played notes lower on the staff is confirmed from pieces in another source<sup>13</sup>. Jarzębski, on the other hand, is less of a clear-cut case. Here, the *bastarda* parts are paired with a melodic treble, as well as an accompanying bass, and there is nothing 'special' about the clefs utilized for any of those parts. The melodic treble lines exhibit a relatively 'high' and 'modest' *ambitus* from d'- b flat". Like Bassani, the *bastarda* line may easily be sounded a fourth lower if a 'larger' instrument is utilized and it is entirely feasible that the composer expected that these pieces would be realized in transposition, returning them to their original keys. However, it is also entirely possible they were intended to be sounded as notated. 'Vestiva' and 'Cosi le chiome' were such well-known pieces that they circulated in more than one form; if Jarzębski consulted a lute transcription as he was preparing his *basso seguente* accompaniment, this could explain his departure from the tonality of the original vocal setting.

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<sup>12</sup> R. Erig and V. Gutmann, *Italianische Diminutionen: Die zwischen 1553 und 1638 mehrmals bearbeiteten Sätze* (Zürich, 1979), 402.

<sup>13</sup> I – Bc C.85 (Olim Cod. 089:13)

At this point, a second question arises about whether pieces would generally have been played ‘where they appear to lie’ notated on the page, or if they, too, might have been transposed at sight, to fit different sizes/types of instruments. Transposition was of course extremely common during the sixteenth century; it enabled a player/ensemble to personally tailor a piece to the range of his/her own instrument. This was essential in an ensemble context where the vocal music that was so often adapted for instrumental performance didn’t lie conveniently in its original tonality. In that type of setting, ‘earlier musicians would have likely seen the notated pitches as ‘intervallic relationships, not absolute values.’<sup>14</sup> This reasoning is certainly plausible, but the *viola bastarda* repertoire has an additional issue that must be addressed. Much of this music exploits a very large, and in some cases, huge, range, and its notation required the use of multiple clefs in order to contain it on the staff. ‘Reading from staff notation in real-time,’<sup>15</sup> as Myers puts it, is however, the secondary challenge. More important is fact that since the repertoire exhibits a huge compass and descends to a low (and sometimes very low) *tessitura*, the low notes generally need to be played as low as possible (or in the lowest range of any given instrument), specifically in order for the high notes of the piece to be accommodated. Moving the piece to a higher register may result in the upper notes of the piece no longer fitting on a given instrument. So with that basic observation in mind, the ‘nominal’ ranges of these pieces may be viewed first in relation to the compass of various sizes and types of instruments and the logic of where specific notes lie on those instruments. Only after that, if desired, may one turn an eye to transposing the work so that it lies in a ‘similarly logical’ place on other sizes/types of instruments, and/or to take advantage of the resonance of certain sonorities on open strings.

### **Instrumentation/Sizes or Tunings of Instruments/Ranges:**

Historically, the generic term *viola* could refer to many different string instruments,<sup>16</sup> so it should be questioned for which type this repertoire was actually intended, or if in fact it was ‘intended’ for anything in particular. All pieces exploit a bass range *tessitura*, so this indicates a need for an instrument with bass-range capability. And this is surely a bowed bass because chordal elements and use of tablature that would be typical for plucked instruments are noticeably absent.

It is currently widely held that *viola bastarda* music is to be played by a member of the viola da gamba family, but there are few indications in the original source material to either directly confirm or refute this claim. Frankly, what clues do exist, lead to differing positions:

In support of the use of a viol are the German Lutheran hymn in tablature (which as mentioned above should probably be considered an anomaly, and not truly part of the *viola bastarda*

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<sup>14</sup> H. W. Myers, ‘The Sizes and Tunings of Early Viols: Some Questions (and a few Answers)’ *JVdGSA* 38 (2001), 6.

<sup>15</sup> Myers, op. cit., 7.

<sup>16</sup> B. Hoffmann, ‘The Nomenclature of the Viol in Italy’, *VdGSJ (GB)*, 2 (2008).

repertoire) and the two pieces discussed above that have minor chordal elements (the *Fantasia in Bastart* from Breslau 114 and Lechler's 'Ad caenam agni providi'). The spelling of the final four-note G major chord in Breslau 114 is unplayable for an instrument tuned in fifths, but is easily achieved on a standard bass viol. Perhaps interesting to note that all three of these examples date to 'late' and northern sources.

Against the use of a viol, the *Sinfonia* in Breslau 112 is notated on the same page with several other pieces; one is labelled for *Viola di Gamba*, another for *Violone*, and the current example, labelled for *Viola bastarda*. Here the implication is that these are three different instruments. Similarly, in the *Secondo Intermedio* by Luca Marenzio, in addition to *una Viola bastarda* is listed *un Basso di viola*; again, the direct implication is that these are not the same instruments.

A final piece is inconclusive. Valentini's 'In te Domine, speravi' bears a title page inscribed '*Viola da Gamba*' though the actual part is headed '*Viola Bastarda*.' This might suggest the two instruments are one and the same, but the argument lacks credibility since the two inscriptions were notated by different hands.

The features of this music do not in and of themselves appear inherently idiomatic or suggestive of any single type of instrument or family. Historical string specialists will doubtless have certain instruments of personal preference and/or ones that may be suggested and defended according to documentation in various historical sources or based on sociological context, etc. But I prefer not to digress to a discussion of that nature at this time. My opinion is quite simple: for all intensive purposes, I believe this repertoire is best described as 'melodic music for bowed bass.' Excluding the works that would seem to require a bass viol because of their (very minimal) chordal writing, none of the other 49 pieces bears instructions, indications or evidence of any kind for a precise instrument or family, nor that an instrument needed to be tuned or set up in a special or unusual manner. Logic dictates that the instrument(s) that realized these pieces were relatively commonly known; if they were unusual then surely the instrument's tuning and features would have been spelled out in the musical editions and/or documented widely in theoretical works over the course of many decades. Neither is true. These things would seem to refute speculations such as those put forward by Annette Otterstedt, who following the Gutmann/Paras premise that the *viola bastarda* must have been a member of the viol family, suggested that it could have been a 7-string instrument, or that that it was a viol generally played in scordatura.<sup>17</sup> It instead stands to reason that these pieces could be played on any number of different instruments/tunings, so long as the requisite range was viable.

Purely for context, the remainder of this discussion will focus on relating the 'nominal' *ambitus* of works in this repertoire to the most common historically viable instrument sizes/tunings that are believed to be

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<sup>17</sup> A. Otterstedt, 'Lawes's Division Viol: Pedigree of an Instrument' in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes 1602-1645. Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, Ashgate, 1998, 307-339.

appropriate to the time period. For the sake of clarity, I will employ modernized names to discuss the following bowed bass instruments: the bass viol (referring to the 6-string instrument tuned in D), three types of viol-family violoni (6-string instruments tuned in A, G or D), the cello (with low C for its tuning), the bass violin (with low B flat tuning) and assorted larger/lower contrabasses (16' instruments, as documented in Praetorius).

Of a total 49 pieces, 18 (the work of four composers: Bassani, Rognoni, Bonizzi and Jarzębski) reflect an 'exceedingly low' range.<sup>18</sup> Seven pieces go down to low G', four go as low as A', two descend to low B flat' and another five stop at low C. In the works with this exceedingly low compass, the music ascends as high as f' and one piece (Bonizzi's 'Pijs ne me peult venir') exploits the complete *ambitus*, from G' – f', exhibiting the somewhat staggering range of three octaves and a minor seventh. The final 12 bars of 'Pijs ne me peult venir' provide good illustration of this extreme range:



If realized at notated pitch, 'Pijs ne me peult venir' would take a player far off the end of the fingerboard on any of the genuine 16-foot instruments, D violone or contrabassi. So the 'smallest' feasible instrument for the pitches as written in the nine pieces with low G' and low A' is the G or A violone, which at this period was well documented in continental sources as a regular member of the viol family.<sup>19</sup> Played as it appears on the page on a G violone, the lowest

<sup>18</sup> I am including in this category the four pieces (Orazio Bassani and Adam Jarzębski) discussed above, that I believe were intended to be played in transposition, returned to the key and tessitura of the original model. However, if these works are removed from the tally, there are still 14 pieces calling for an instrument with an exceedingly low range: four with low G', three with A', two descend to low B'-flat and another five stop at low C.

<sup>19</sup> J. Morton, 'The Early History of the G Violone', *JVdGSA*, 36 (1999).

note of 'Pijs ne me veult venir' is the instrument's bottom open string and the highest note lies an octave plus a minor seventh above the top open string.

The five pieces with C's are of course playable at notated pitch on the cello, and those, plus the two with B'-flats are playable by bass violins. All of these pieces are additionally playable on G/A violoni.

If nine works 'suggest' a G/A violone (or transposition onto a smaller instrument so that they lie in the same place as on a G/A violone) and these pieces exhibit a range up to f", it should be pointed out that there is only a single piece in the entire repertoire that goes above that note, and merely one step higher, to g"<sup>20</sup>. Might one conclude that the entire repertoire is 'viable' for the G violone? Probably not. Not all of these pieces will be found to be 'well suited' or 'comfortable' to play on the G violone. However, violone usage shouldn't be summarily overlooked merely because a piece doesn't call for its very lowest pitches. Nor should works be ruled out that appear in a higher nominal setting, as suitable for playing on the violone in transposition.

33 pieces – the work of ten composers – reflect a nominal range that fits the 6-string bass viol, as well as the bass violin and cello. These pieces exhibit a cumulative functioning *ambitus* of three octaves and a perfect fourth (D to g"). The highest notes would perhaps be 'easier' to attain on a bass viol (where g" lies an octave and a perfect fourth above the top open string), but they are nonetheless entirely feasible for a bass violin or cello. The G violone's top string is exactly the same pitch and octave as the top string on a bass violin. The modern cello tuning gains one tone. If the G violone was expected to play almost two full octaves above its top open string, then logically this can also be done on a smaller instrument, since g" is located an octave and a minor seventh above the top open string on a cello.

Regardless of which instrument was utilized for the 33 works without an 'exceedingly low' compass, the nominal pitches in seven pieces (by three composers: Dalla Casa, Virgiliano, Jarzębski) would not require the use of a bass viol, cello or bass violin's bottom strings. Six pieces descend to G, and one only to A. These could of course be played in transposition on one of the larger instruments. Then again, perhaps they were meant to be realized by yet other, smaller instruments. Or by 3- or 4-string bass violins where F was the lowest string (as documented by Agricola, Ganassi, Zacconi and Praetorius). In support of the possibility of smaller bass instruments (with less common tunings than utilized in the present day) are a few pieces with ornate melodic 'treble' parts for unspecified instrument. None of these bear the *bastarda* terminology, but their lines descend below the playable range of a

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<sup>20</sup> If one includes the two pieces by Bassani (though I have argued against it, above) then the bass viol parts ascend one tone higher, to a".

violin. Jarzębski's *Diligam te Domine* is one such example, with a line exhibiting the range of e – b"<sup>21</sup>. There are not many 'common' instruments (strings or winds) capable of a literal rendering of such parts nowadays, but there must have been something capable of realizing it to justify Jarzębski's writing the line...

### **Provenance/Dissemination:**

Of the 13 sources/collections consulted, five appeared in published form (containing a total of 28 pieces by six composers); the other eight exist only in manuscript form (23 pieces, eight composers).

The five printed sources were released during a period of 42 years (1584-1626), however the first three were released within eight years of each other, and then there was a sizable lapse of 28 years before the next two came out, published within six years of each other. These documents comprise music entirely by Italian composers. Four were printed in Venice and one in Milan. One bears no dedication, three are dedicated to Italian patrons (in Verona, Florence, Parma) and one is dedicated to Sigismund III, King of Poland. The contents of these printed editions appear to have circulated fairly widely and handwritten copies of some of the *viola bastarda* material from them appears in some of the other, later *bastarda* manuscript sources.<sup>22</sup>

The eight manuscripts were produced over a span of approximately 60 years and are more evenly spread out, with representation roughly once every decade. The first was notated c1600 and the last dates to the 1660s. None of the eight manuscript sources bears a dedication. Three of the composers were Italians, one composer was Polish, one Austrian and the compilers of the remaining three documents (Breslau 112 and 114, and the Lutheran chorale in tablature) are unknown, but the manuscripts are of German provenance. Valentini worked most of his career at the Imperial court, first in Graz and then Vienna. The Polish composer Jarzębski was resident for a good part of his career and at the time to which his manuscript dates, at the court of Sigismund III in Warsaw. The Austro/Germanic manuscripts would seem to have been notated for use on home soil, although Lechler's, from the Benedictine Abbey in Kremsmünster, connects to the counter reformatory Imperial court in Vienna and Breslau 114 contains additional material that concords with an important viol collection (the Merro partbooks, Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.246) in England. More about these things later in the discussion.

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<sup>21</sup> I am aware of at least two other pieces with similarly low range issues. Both are sets of treble divisions by Orazio Bassani, in I-Bc C.85: *Lasso che mal accorto* (with an ambitus of f – b") and *Vergine bella* (d – a").

<sup>22</sup> A few examples are Bonizzi's 'La bella netta ignuda' is in I-Bc C.85 and much of Rognoni's material appears in Breslau 113 and 114.



## Overview:

It should be immediately evident that the materials assessed thus far reflect a wide variety of features, and many of those features run counter to the current definition. Some pieces are indeed embellishments of pre-existing vocal polyphony, but fully 27% of the works that bear a written *viola bastarda* designation do not employ that as a constructional device. A second, related component is misleading, since 19% of the pieces that are based on polyphony do not embellish more than a single line. Further aspects of the definition are also spurious. 37% of the pieces are not ‘solo’ works, but rather incorporate the *viola bastarda* into a larger ensemble setting. And while 57% of the composer/sources are Italian, fully 43% are northern. Also, there are few indications that the music was designated specifically for the viola da gamba. This basic tally speaks for itself. A single piece here or there might be an anomaly, but the sheer quantity and percentage of works that are exceptions to the currently held rules indicate that our established parameters for this genre are seriously flawed and in need of adjustment. The goal from here forward should be the identification of features that these pieces have in common, rather than a preoccupation with features that only sometimes hold true.

In and of itself, the embellishment of polyphony is neither unusual, nor unique to the *bastarda* repertoire, since vocal music was for a long time one of the primary vehicles for the creation of newer instrumental works. From the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, vast numbers of treble instrument divisions were based on vocal polyphony. And likewise, there exist great quantities of versions for solo or multiple voices and for keyboards and for plucked instruments, plus numerous didactic manuals precisely explain and illustrate and instruct the details of this art. The fact that some of the *bastarda* repertoire takes this form is therefore not surprising. What is noteworthy, in my opinion, are the two northern manuscript sources (Jarzębski and Breslau 114) that provide *viola bastarda* examples of both embellished polyphony, as well as pieces based on non-polyphonic constructs. Adam Jarzębski’s pieces are particularly interesting in this light and the source merits some extra comment. This set of five part books was lost earlier in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but has recently resurfaced and is now held at the Preussischer Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. It is the only known source for Jarzębski’s 28 instrumental works, which include four numbered ‘concerti’ a 2, nine Latin-titled works a 2, ten titled ‘concerti’ a 3 (most named for Germanic cities) and five numbered ‘canzoni’ a 4. Twelve of the 28 pieces bear a *viola bastarda* assignation<sup>23</sup>. The Latin-titled works are entirely settings of embellished polyphony; eight are scored for unspecified treble instrument, *viola bastarda* and basso continuo, and the ninth is scored for two unspecified treble instruments, plus basso continuo. Six of the nine Latin-titled works are *contrafacta* for well-known Italian and French secular vocal works, and the remaining three are based on motets of the same name by Italian composers. Details of the *contrafacta* are not widely known or discussed elsewhere, so allow me to clarify:

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<sup>23</sup> The full term ‘viola bastarda’ appears only once in the Jarzębski part books (applied to ‘Diligam te Domine’), but the abbreviation ‘bastarda’ appears in connection with eleven additional pieces.

*Diligam te Domine* = *contrafactum* for *Nasce la pena mia*, Striggio a 5  
*Cantate Domino* = *contrafactum* for *Vestiva i colli*, Palestrina a 5  
*Secunda pars* = *contrafactum* for *Cosi le chiome mie, seconda pars* to *Vestiva*,  
 Palestrina a 5  
*In Deo speravit* = *In Deo speravit*, Claudio Merulo a 6  
*In te Domine, speravi* = *In te Domine, speravi*, Claudio Merulo a 6  
*Susanna videns* = *contrafactum* for *Susanne un jour*, Orlando Lasso a 5  
*Venite exultemus* = *contrafactum* for *Io son ferito ahi lasso*, Palestrina a 5  
*Cantate Joh. Gabrielis* = *contrafactum* for *Cantate Domino*, Giovanni  
 Gabrieli a 6  
*Corona aurea* = *Corona aurea*, Palestrina a 5

There are several provocative facets to Jarzębski's polyphonic-based works. First is the fact that he 'disguised' the identity of six secular models, by assigning new sacred Latin titles. (Perhaps these settings were crafted for use in a sacred setting; Jarzębski was employed at a staunchly Catholic, counter-reformative court.) From a compositional standpoint, the works are noteworthy. His treble parts, as well as *bastarda* lines, embellish multiple voices of the original model, over top of a precise *basso seguente* to the original.<sup>24</sup> His melodic lines sometimes even cross, with the lower instrument embellishing a higher voice than the first. And the piece for two trebles ('Corona aurea') is identical in approach, with both treble parts embellishing multiple lines of the original motet. It should be remarked that none of his treble parts bear any kind of '*bastarda*' designation. So it stands to reason that if vocal polyphony and embellishment of multiple lines were indeed primary components for the *viola bastarda*, one should have observed that term applied to these treble lines, as well as to those in the tenor and bass range (which are so marked). One does not. Moreover, Jarzębski applies the *bastarda* term to bass and tenor range melodic parts in four other works for instrumental ensemble that are not constructed around pre-existing polyphony. From these details, I think it may be concluded that although embellishment of polyphony and embellishment of multiple lines are evidenced in some of the *viola bastarda* repertoire, those elements are not universally defining characteristics of the genre.

A logical interjection at this point is the observation that a high percentage of the 'earlier' works are Italianate, embellishments of polyphony and solo settings, whereas a high percentage of the 'later' works are northern, non-polyphonic and ensemble scorings. Is it possible that the genre started with embellished polyphony as a main feature, but changed over time and region? There is clearly some crossover evident among periods/regions, with features intermixed, so at this point, there is not an easy answer. This issue should however be kept in mind, but set aside as something to be addressed and answered more formally after a second round of examinations, below.

To knock the subject down to size, it is tempting to try to discount or marginalize certain works. For example, Paras claimed that "There is no reason

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<sup>24</sup> Jarzębski's bass lines sometimes include an extra bar, or several bars, at the very final cadence, but are otherwise exact paraphrases of the original models. As was discussed above, *Cantate domino* ('*Vestiva*') and the *Secunda pars* ('*Cosi le chiome*') are transposed a perfect fourth higher than the original models, but the other seven are in the original key/modality.

except Jarzębski's use of the name '*bastarda*' to associate these compositions with the style of the *viola bastarda*. The name [only] seems to indicate that the parts are intended to be played on the viola da gamba.<sup>25</sup> This makes no sense! There are quite a few other ensemble pieces represented in the list of known *viola bastarda* sources. And one may not ignore the obvious connection that Jarzębski's works were notated just seven years later than Francesco Rognoni's, which is especially relevant since Jarzębski himself worked at the court for the very patron to whom Rognoni's work was dedicated (Sigismund III). These two composers and their works are therefore linked, even if specific features are different. Another piece sometimes cited as an oddity of the genre is Valentini's 'In te Domine speravi' that originates from a Viennese manuscript, c1649. It has been suggested that Valentini was an isolated composer in northern lands and the last bastion of an antiquated tradition. Saunders has described this piece as 'detached from the roots that had nourished the *viola bastarda* repertoire for nearly a century.'<sup>26</sup> Yet this work is hardly an anomaly when viewed in comparison to the two sacred vocal works by Benedikt Lechler that come from exactly the same period and region (as well as a further work for trombone by Sances that will be discussed, below). Valentini and Lechler's works have many musical similarities, as well as both tracing to Imperial and counter-reformative communities. All this to illustrate that certain works superficially different from others cannot always be easily dismissed as inaccuracies or anomalies once they are placed into a broader context.

Generalizations about the overall style of the 51 works assessed above are challenging; for almost every group that illustrates one feature, there is a sizable-enough second group to contradict it. However, based on the examination thus far, there are a few features they seem to have in common: All of these pieces require a bowed bass instrument. The works are all high art forms and reflect a through-composed, linear and non-chordal style of writing that is usually quite ornate and athletic and exploits an extended range (sometimes three octaves or even considerably more). The *viola bastarda* line typically has a melodic and even soloistic presence that is in distinct contrast to the role a bass instrument would have performed in a consort or accompanying setting. The term appears in materials that date from 1584 through the 1660s and is represented in both Italian printed editions, and northern manuscript sources.

### **The materials labelled '*alla bastarda*':**

The compositional features of the works labelled for *viola bastarda* reflect a great deal of variety. With an eye to ascertaining if such variety is genuinely representative and valid, a second body of primary musical sources might now be assessed. New parameters isolate pieces of music to which the more general descriptor '*alla bastarda*' was appended and this pertains specifically to works

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<sup>25</sup> Paras, *op. cit.*, 16. Paras evidently did not know that these pieces are *contrafacta*, and based on the same well known polyphonic models as used by other authors, whose works he categorically included in the genre!

<sup>26</sup> S. Saunders 'Giovanni Valentini's 'In te Domine speravi' and the demise of the *viola bastarda*' *JVdGSA* 28 (1994), 19.

for the lute, trombone and bass voice (see Table 2). If any additional instruments realized this type of music, there are simply not any known musical works that prescribe it. Sixteenth and seventeenth century composers used the expression '*alla bastarda*' in a variety of original musical material; there are fewer examples of it than for the more specific *viola bastarda*, but now added for discussion are eight known sources representing the work of seven composers (six of whom were not previously represented in the *viola bastarda* materials). There are eight individual pieces (one for lute, three for trombone and four for bass voice), two complete madrigal comedies (for voices) and 33 short pedagogical examples for unspecified instrument. The earliest documentation dates to 1599 when Giovanni Antonio Terzi applied the term to one piece for lute in his *Secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto* and the final mention comes from an ensemble piece for three voices, two cornetti and *Trombone alla bastarda* by Giovanni Felice Sances, from a Viennese source dated c1650.

Giovanni Antonio Terzi compiled two collections of music for the lute, published in Venice, 1593 and 1599. Like many other collections from the second half of the sixteenth century, Terzi's publications are compilations of four main genres of music common for the lute at that time: dances, fantasias, lute-songs and intabulations of polyphonic works (both vocal and instrumental) and together his volumes contain a total of 154 pieces. Terzi provided many suggestions for performance practice and primary among those details was the indication that many of the pieces were deemed suitable both as stand-alone solos and as lute duos, to be played '*in concerto*;' the ensemble pieces generally pair lutes of different sizes.<sup>27</sup> 'Chi farà fede al ciel' from the *Libro secondo* is the sole work to bear the descriptive subtitle: '*accommodato a modo di Viola bastarda, per suonar in Concerto con Liutto grande*.' The piece appears well into the volume (pp.70-74, out of 123 pages of music). But its style is not appreciably different from a great many other works; if the *bastarda* subtitle is disregarded, this single piece does not stand out dramatically from many of the other ornate pieces in his collection. No accompanying lute part is provided but the piece is based on Alessandro Striggio's five-voice madrigal of the same name and in it, Terzi ornately embellishes the original with eighths, sixteenths and even thirty-second notes. There are few moments of repose and the ornamentation is constant and in turn embellishes all voices of Striggio's model. A little different from the *viola bastarda* pieces that typically favour stepwise writing and occasional large leaps, Terzi's setting incorporates chords into the moving line (always on strong beats) and his linear writing displays many broken chords that are executed in sixteenths or thirty-seconds. That this piece is truly for a plucked instrument is evident because the notes for chords are not always on adjacent strings and the Italian lute tablature notation reveals it was intended for a seven-course lute. For the key/modality of Striggio's original to be maintained, the lute would be tuned in A, with its bottom/seventh course tuned to D. The piece has a total range of three octaves plus a minor third (E – g"); it utilizes all but the very lowest note

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<sup>27</sup> S. Court, 'Giovanni Antonio Terzi and the Lute Intabulations of Late Sixteenth Century Italy.' Ph. D. dissertation (University of Otago, 1994), 1.

possible on the instrument and the highest fingered note is a minor seventh above the top open string.

The next three works are all designated for trombone, yet they are quite different from each other. The earliest is the setting based on Lasso's 'Susanne un jour' from Francesco Rognoni's 1620 publication, headed '*Susana d'Orlando, modo di passeggiar per il Violone Over Trombone alla Bastarda*'.<sup>28</sup> It embellishes multiple voices of the original polyphonic model and reflects the key/mode of the original model, but only exploits a range of two octaves plus a P5th (B'-flat – f') and is notated using only F3 and F4 clefs. There is no accompaniment included.

A second trombone work was published only two years later than Rognoni's, but it, as well as the third trombone piece is markedly different in style. P.A. Mariani's piece is titled "*La Guaralda, Canzon alla bastarda per il Trombone, e Violino e basso per l'Organo*"<sup>29</sup> and is presented as the *Deo gratias*, the eleventh and final part of an elaborate and varied setting of the mass; the religious function of this piece should be noted. The work is not based on pre-existing polyphony, and neither the violin nor the trombone part would be considered at all virtuosic. The trombone and violin parts tend to be in imitation of each other, with occasional homophonic passages in thirds or sixths. There are occasional sixteenth notes (though not extended passages of them) but most of the piece is at slower note values. The trombone line was notated in C3, C4 and F4 exploiting a range from G – a' and functions in two capacities, mostly supporting the basso continuo line with some minimal rhythmic embellishment, but occasionally reflecting a simple counterpoint over the bass and below the violin.

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<sup>28</sup> For its 'violone' attribution, this work was included in the statistics for the pieces bearing a *viola bastarda* assignation. It will therefore be excluded from the final tally and statistics, here.

<sup>29</sup> Nothing further is known about this composer, not even his full name. The work comes out of a compilation of works published by Carlo Milanuzzi, *Armonia sacra di concerti, messa & canzoni a cinque voci con il suo basso continuo per l'organo. Opera sesta* (Venice, 1622).

**Table 2****Music where the term ‘*alla bastarda*’ appears in an original source, pertaining to voice, lute and trombone:**

(see Appendix for full citations and links to scores)

<b>Date:</b>	<b>Author:</b>	<b>Publication:</b>	<b>Title:</b>
1599	Giovanni Antonio Terzi	Il secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto	Chi farà fede al ciel, accommodato a modo di Viola bastarda, per suonar in Concerto con Liutto grande
1598/1604	Adriano Banchieri	La pazzia senile	Canto alla bastarda, Tenore parte bastarda
1607	Adriano Banchieri	Prudenza giovanile	Parte superiore alla bastarda
1610	Bartolomeo Barbarino	Il terzo libro de madrigali	Scioglio ardito nocchier vela d’argento, Basso alla Bastarda
1613	Giulio Pietro Negri	Grazie ed Affetti di musica	Ch’io t’ami e invochi, Basso alla Bastarda Pasciti pur del core, Basso alla Bastarda Sopra l’Aria di Ruggiero di Napoli
1620	Francesco Rognoni	Selve de varii passaggi...	Pulchra es amica mea, motetto Passegiato per il Basso da Cantar alla Bastarda Susana d’Orlando (Trombone alla bastarda) Essempi [33] per Sonar alla Bastarda
1622	P.A. Mariani	in Carlo Milanuzzi’s Armonia sacra	Canzona a 2 alla Bastarda, La Guaralda, per il Trombone, e Violino e basso per l’Organo
c1650	Giovanni Felice Sances	D-Kl, Ms. 2° Mus. 57m	Nel regno d’amore, Canzonetta a 6, doi Canti e basso, doi Cornetti muti overo doi Violette da braccio con un Trombone alla bastarda ad libitum

The third trombone work is also an ensemble piece, this time marked *Canzonetta* a 6, 'Nel Regno d'amore' by Giovanni Felice Sances and it comes from a manuscript of Viennese provenance dated 1650. The title page prescribes an ensemble of '*doi Canti e Basso, doi Cornetti muti overo doi Violette da braccio con un Trombone, Alla bastarda, ad Libitum.*' The wording of the title page is repeated again in full on the back of the trombone part (which itself is labelled '*tromboncino ad libitum*'), but in actual fact, the piece also requires '*Basso de Viola,*' *Cembalo* and '*Basso per la battuta;*' all three play identical lines and function as a basso continuo team. The three vocal lines are not especially ornate and the bass voice predominantly doubles the continuo. This multi-sectional work begins with a short instrumental sonata that is repeated again between each of three verses (sung by the three voices with full continuo accompaniment). The cornetti and trombone play only in the sonata(s), and in the final 'Ahi dunque' portion of the third verse that concludes the whole work. The trombone part is decidedly un-virtuosic; it only occasionally has moving quarter notes and is otherwise slower. It plays throughout the sonata, and for all but two and a half measures, its line exactly doubles the continuo, albeit with minimal additional rhythmic variety to match the two cornetti. In the final section of the piece the trombone is *tacet* for long stretches (along with the cornetti) and where it does play, it again mostly doubles the continuo, but occasionally provides a simple counterpoint to the cornetti before rejoining the bass. The range called for the trombone across both sections of the piece is G – e' and is entirely notated in C4. This work provides an interesting contrast to most of the rest of the *bastarda* repertoire because the writing here is not soloistic or virtuosic in any way. It does, however, function as an occasional melodic component. On a very primitive level, one might describe the trombone line as an a '*obbligato*' part; though marked '*ad libitum,*' it adds an element of interest, and I believe most would find the work poorer without it.

Francesco's Rognoni's 33 '*Essempi per Sonar alla Bastarda*' are reminiscent of the many didactic manuals of the previous century that presented models to be studied and copied as a means of learning the art of ornamentation. A reflection of late-Renaissance style, it was generally expected that embellishments were to be applied to polyphonic consort music, though different authors felt that this should take place to greater and lesser degrees and espoused varying attitudes as to where and when it was appropriate. But within the consort context, it was essential for a performer to have at the ready a variety of figures that had been learned by rote that could be spontaneously applied as the need/desire arose. Rognoni's 33 '*Essempi per Sonar alla Bastarda*' are similar in format to examples in the earlier instruction manuals, providing not just written out embellishment, but a clear visual reference to the line on which they are based. Before addressing his *bastarda essempi*, three pages of *Passaggi* and *Cadenze sopra la Parte del Basso* in Rognoni's *Prima parte*<sup>32</sup> should be considered. These bass divisions exhibit a fairly modest style; each note of the

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<sup>32</sup> These are labeled: '*Semibreui & minime per andar di grado ascendendo per la voce del Basso,*' '*Semibreui & minime discendendo per grado per la parte del Basso*' and '*Cadenze & finali sopra il Basso.*'

original is broken into a small number of parts and the line does not depart radically from the general register of the original. New pitches tend to be neighbouring notes or short figures that begin and return to the same original pitch. In noticeable contrast, the *bastarda esempi* are considerably more complex and ornate. It is clear at the outset that Rognoni selected simple bass lines on which to create his *bastarda* examples, and each concludes with a cadential semibreve. These embellishments are extremely active with long scalar passages and leaps from one consonance to another, sometimes with several leaps in rapid succession. Where the bass *passaggi* were notated entirely in bass clef, the *bastarda* examples necessitate the use of C1, C3, C4 and F4 clefs and illustrate an overall compass of three octaves (D – d"). In almost every case, Rognoni's writing shadows the original bass line; the passagework may be extremely elaborate, but unisons (not always in the same octave as the model) occur on most strong beats and the lines follow basic contrapuntal rules about consonance and dissonance and stepwise *versus* leaping motion. There are only a few examples where the *bastarda* line deviates noticeably from the original bass line with new florid counterpoint over the bass, but the *bastarda* line always ends in unison, cadencing with the bass. This last feature is crucial because it suggests a fundamental allegiance to the bass. The *bastarda* line may explore higher voices/ranges, but the lines invariably return to the bass.

Before leaving Rognoni, it should be observed that *Selva de varii passaggi* is 'the last representative of a proud Renaissance tradition... but Rognoni should not be characterized as old-fashioned, since his book differs from its predecessors, in that in addition to tables of *passaggi* on various intervals and cadential patterns, he includes numerous illustrations of the newer small-scale ornaments, or 'graces,' and places more emphasis on text expression in the baroque manner.'<sup>33</sup> There is one further element especially worthy of note. Authors of most of the sixteenth century instruction manuals claimed that their materials were applicable for *tutte le sorte di stromenti*, but, whether as ornaments for short passages in an ensemble context, or as the basis for creating entirely new solo settings based on a pre-existing line, the examples they presented were almost always based on treble lines, treble voices and treble figures. One could argue that musicians of all types were able to decipher the treble examples and to subsequently apply them to their own lines, and indeed, that approach is clearly alluded to in works like Giovanni Luca Conforto's *Breve e facile maniera...* of 1593, where seven clefs are notated at the beginning of the first example, with the idea that the player would choose/apply whichever one was appropriate to their instrument/voice. However, there are remarkably few published embellishments or pieces notated outside of the treble/alto range. And the notes of bass lines tend to jump around, not following the stepwise motion typical of upper voices, so the didactic figures that are provided for treble lines are not necessarily easily adapted to basses. Not to mention that cadential embellishment in the bass line would almost always present a conflict with cadential ornamentation in the higher voices... In any case, in the published instruction manuals, little space is

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<sup>33</sup> S. Carter 'Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620): Fresh Details concerning Early-Baroque Vocal Ornamentation', *PPR* 2 (1989), 6, 33.



devoted to pedagogical examples for bass parts, or solo pieces in the bass range.<sup>34</sup> So Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi* is particularly unusual because it contains quite a bit of material specifically for bass instruments and voices. Even more striking is that much of Rognoni's extended, melodic, ornate bass writing bears the label '*bastarda*.' More about his work for bass voice will be discussed, below.

Moving now to specifically vocal works, some additional details come to light. There are four arias for '*Basso (da Cantar) alla Bastarda*' and all come from northern Italian composers and date to the ten-year period, 1610-1620. Bartolomeo Barbarino was one of the first monodists and his three volumes of secular monodies (1606, 1607, 1610) include five works for virtuosic solo bass voice,<sup>35</sup> though only a single one, 'Scioglio ardito nocchier vela d'argento' from the *Terzo libro* actually uses the *bastarda* terminology. The piece is not based on a pre-existing polyphonic model, and in fact, it may be described as a genuine example of early vocal monody. The early monodists classified and assigned names to many of the ornamental figures with which they graced their solo lines; though the linear writing is entirely reminiscent of the instrumental *passaggi*, Barbarino's writing may be described as complex *cantar alla gorgia*, often spanning large compasses in a short space, with rapid chains of *cascade* and dotted figures and a series of spectacular low notes down to low D.<sup>36</sup> Compared with much of the *viola bastarda* repertoire this piece looks relatively tame, but for vocal music, the long strings of sixteenths (and one short section of thirty-second notes) are certainly virtuosic, and may be seen to exploit both bass and tenor *tessiturae*. The total range of two octaves plus a major second (D – e') would require advanced singing skills.

Two vocal works from 1613 by the Milanese composer Giulio Santo Pietro de Negri are dedicated to the celebrated singer, Ottavio Valera. Little is known of Valera's biography (he was likely a nobleman) but additional solo bass works not marked *bastarda* were dedicated to him by Francesco Rognoni and Giovanni Paolo Cima. Like Barbarino, Giulio Negri proudly embraced the elements of the *seconda pratica*; three of his five published volumes proclaim 'modern' aspects to his compositional style.<sup>37</sup> His two pieces for *Basso alla Bastarda* involve elaborate and rapid passagework, and exploit a two-octave range (D – d'). Negri's first aria 'Ch'io t'ami e invochi' is yet another example of 'true' monody, and exhibits rhetorical and declamatory aspects typical of that genre. The second work is a setting of the *Aria di Ruggiero*, a fixed harmonic progression (sometimes suggested by a bass line, sometimes by a

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<sup>34</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the only examples are by Finck (1556), Maffei (1562), Dalla Casa (1584) and Trabaci (1603) where consort music examples are provided with embellishment in all voices. Ortiz (1555) and Zacconi (1592) give pedagogical examples for embellishing cadential bass figures, and Ortiz (1553) provides entire melodic pieces for a bass. Rognoni is therefore one of only three authors to provide pedagogical examples for basses, and one of only two authors to provide both didactic examples and whole pieces.

<sup>35</sup> R. Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2007), 205.

<sup>36</sup> Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 211.

<sup>37</sup> N. Fortune. 'Negri, Giulio Santo Pietro de'. *GMO* (accessed 27 May 2014).

melody<sup>38</sup>) to which many poetic texts were set. Negri took the bass progression as his foundation, over which he set four stanzas of text, with new melodic material in each. Where in earlier hands the text might have been treated as strophic (using the same melodic material for each verse), Negri's writing is through-composed, with four different melodic statements over a repeating bass.

The fourth bass vocal *bastarda* piece is by Francesco Rognoni, and this is the only work from his *Prima parte* where the term appears. Here, it is applied to *passaggi* based on Palestrina's motet 'Pulchra es amica mea'. This song is perhaps the most demanding of all four vocal *bastarda* works, requiring a singer to ascend to g'. Rognoni employs both C4 and F4 clefs and switches between them to indicate a transition among tenor and bass voices of the original model. However, in the original model the bass voice drops out for extended sections, so in those spots the tenor line ends up functioning as the bass. Viewed from this perspective, the vocal line is built entirely on a *basso seguente* (unlike his pieces for the *viola bastarda* that embellish multiple parts). Notable here are blocks of rests in the *bastarda* voice; though no accompanying part is provided or alluded to, the *bastarda* part must have been sung to some form of accompaniment. Then again, Rognoni (and indeed almost every other composer who based a piece on a pre-existing model) retained the original key/modality of the original model, so it would not be difficult to create an accompaniment from the original score realized by a chordal instrument, or by a consort of players playing the original individual lines.

The final examples of vocal *bastarda* appear in two madrigal comedies by Adrian Banchieri. Both were reprinted multiple times but the editions to use *bastarda* terminology are publications of 1604 and 1607 and these are the sole known sources from any/all of the *bastarda*-termed repertoire where the word is applied in a non-bass range context. That in itself might predispose a dismissal, but an examination yields some salient observations. Two partbooks are missing for the 1607 publication, but among the remaining four parts for 'La pazzia senile' and 'Prudenza giovenile', the title pages make reference to the present subject, prescribing: '*canto alla bastarda*,' '*tenore parte bastarda*' and '*Parte superiore alla bastarda*.' The preface to 'Prudenza' explains: 'The singers will sing from their books (as they will not be visible), and if singing *alla bastarda*, three will do, although it would be better to have six: two sopranos, two tenors, alto and bass, singing and remaining silent according to the moment, bringing spirit to the happy words, affect to the sad ones, and pronouncing with intelligible voices, everything with the judgment of a prudent singer.'<sup>39</sup> In this usage, the term would seem to refer not to a special or virtuosic kind of composition, but rather to a manner of using the voice, specifically what is now more commonly

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<sup>38</sup> C. Palisca, 'Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody', *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford, 1994), 346-347.

<sup>39</sup> *Gli Cantori canteranno sopra gli libri, (per essere inapparenti,) e volendo cantare alla bastarda saranno tre: tuttavia essendovi commodità meglio sariano in sei, Dui Soprani, Dui Tenori, Alto, e Basso, cantando e tacendo secondo le occasioni, dando spirito alla parole allegre, affettione all meste, e pronuntiar con voci intelligibili, tutto à guiditio del prudente Cantore.* Text and translation from W. A. Glass, Jr., 'The Renaissance Italian Madrigal Comedy: A Handbook for Performance', DMA Dissertation (University of Arizona, 2006), 47-48.

called *falsetto*.<sup>40</sup> These madrigal comedies comprise secular polyphonic vocal music scored in three parts and each was intended to be dramatized by a small number of singers who would use their voices in a variety of different ways: the first in their 'normal' register and the second, singing in falsetto. As a result, three singers could take on all of the roles necessary and portray characters of both male and female gender. These part books would presumably be utilized by male singers, singing both in their true range, and other times in falsetto, to cover the additional alto and soprano range parts. Unfortunately, there are no precise indications in the scores about when and where each voice was to be applied; it seems to have been left up to the performers to work that out. As a result, few additional details can be gleaned from these sources. What should be noted is that Banchieri seems to have utilized the term *bastarda* to reference a specific use of the vocal apparatus, where the voice was called on to migrate to different ranges/registers.

**In conclusion:** the pieces of instrumental and vocal music marked *alla bastarda* confirm that the term is a stylistic one and not a precise instrumental designation and they illustrate the same breadth of variety that was seen with the *viola bastarda* music, but adding even more compositional forms to the discussion. The music marked *alla bastarda* is overwhelmingly 'early' and 'Italianate,' but here, ornamented polyphony does not predominate and in fact, only two pieces were based on it, though all but one of the composers were Italian. So this refers us back to the question posed at the end of the examination of the *viola bastarda* materials, which asked if the polyphonic construct might have been an 'early' and 'Italianate' feature. With the addition of the *alla bastarda* works, it may now be concluded that even in its earliest phase, pre-existing polyphony was just one of many possible structures around which the *bastarda* repertoire could be crafted. Further, even in its early period, the *bastarda* line (no matter what instrument realized it) could be either for a solo instrument, or for an instrument that was incorporated as part of a larger ensemble.

Once again, it might be tempting to endeavour to discount certain pieces for exhibiting unusual or unique features, but the problem now is that there is so much variety, it is difficult to establish what the norm might be! While two works were based on pre-existing polyphony, two more were examples of genuine monody, one was through-composed variations on a repeating ground bass, two employed the *alla bastarda* term as a registral descriptor, one was a concerted motet and another a concerted *canzonetta*. Two of the three trombone pieces called for the *bastarda* to function in a melodic, albeit not hugely virtuosic capacity, and one of those used it in a setting for sacred music. This remarkable variety does have clear parallels to the *viola bastarda* repertoire. Mariani's use of a *trombone bastarda* in a religious setting seemingly connects to the three later concerted motets by Valentini and Lechler for the *viola bastarda*. Also Mariani's work is dated a mere four years prior to and published in the same city as Bonizzi's collection for *viola bastarda*. Likewise, the Sances piece dates to exactly the same time and region as Valentini's *viola bastarda* setting of

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<sup>40</sup> The term falsetto is not known to have been used by Banchieri, but it does appear in other contemporary sources in the context by which we understand it, for example G.C. Maffei's *Delle lettere* (Naples, 1562).

*In te Domine, speravi*. One cannot discredit one author's application of the term without also calling into question the validity of others. Taken as a group, the features these pieces do have in common: all require bass-range instruments and all are high art, linear, through-composed compositions (only the lute piece had chordal elements, which one should expect since that is an idiomatic element to plucked instrument music) where the *bastarda* line serves a prominent melodic role. These materials date from the period 1599 to 1650 and represent the work of both Italian and northern composers.

### ***Viola bastarda* as terminology:**

Having now examined 60 works, 33 *esempi* and every currently known historical musical source to which the *bastarda* term was appended, a provocative conjecture comes to mind. Perhaps the term originated as a description of the function of a bass voice/instrument, which had broken free of its traditionally accepted place as accompaniment/foundation to take on a genuinely melodic role. In this capacity, it was able to push into registers generally associated with higher voices or instruments. Treble and alto instruments are unable to descend low enough to be able to perform accompanying roles and are therefore unable to change their roles. So this might explain why the term *bastarda* is never found appended to music for higher instruments, such as treble divisions, even when the compositional style may be all but identical to *bastarda* writing and where the line may be just as active and virtuosic. Metamorphosis is really only feasible for a bass instrument. Known first and foremost as a foundational instrument, it has the ability to radically morph by eschewing its accompanying and supportive function. As long as range requirements were met, any bowed bass instrument could undergo such a metamorphosis; the repertoire need not be the purview of any one type or form of viol or violin. However, a bowed instrument that was to be played regularly in a melodic capacity might be constructed or set up slightly differently, than the manner of an instrument that played primarily in its lower register in consort music. (Nowadays players regularly make distinctions between instruments that are more/less desirable or suitable for solo or consort playing, even though they have the same number of strings and tuning and string length, etc.) So this line of thinking would additionally defend a position that the *viola bastarda* was occasionally considered and described as a specific type of instrument, even if its basic functioning features were all but identical to other commonly known and utilized instrument(s).<sup>41</sup>

Etymologically, the conjecture above accords well with the formal definition for the word *bastarda*. The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice 1612) reads: *Bastardo*: '1) nato d'inlegittimo congiugamento d'huomo e di donna, 2) si dice di tutto ciò, che traligna.' It is through the application of the first meaning that the *bastarda* repertoire has until now been viewed, under the (now proven

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<sup>41</sup> A verbal distinction based on function should perhaps not be surprising; the assignation of instrument names according to role is not particularly unusual. Such qualifications are regularly made in the twenty-first century, for example, with 'double bass' referencing the 'function' of a bass line (being realized an octave lower than written) and 'lead guitar' clearly differentiated from 'rhythm guitar' (though the two are essentially one and the same instrument).

erroneous) premise that it was based on pre-existing vocal polyphony, with the new composition likened to a distortion or ‘illegitimate offspring’ of some older work. But I believe it was really the second application of the definition that resulted in the *bastarda* term being appended to this repertoire. Here, *bastarda* is linked with the adjective *tralignare*, which means ‘degenerate,’ as in ‘lacking some property, order, or distinctness of structure previously or usually present.’ In modern parlance, the synonym ‘spurious’ is more typically given than degenerate, even more clearly defined as ‘something fake or false, that is other than what it purports to be.’ These analogies seem entirely logical in connection to the repertoire that has been assessed, where bass instruments are called upon to assume a function outside of their normal accompanying role, taking on purely melodic lines.

### **Other melodic instrumental bass music:**

If the assumptions and conclusions proposed above are correct, melodic performance on bass instruments/voices would have to have been a relatively new and unusual occurrence at the time the *bastarda* music was being set down; this should inform the next level of investigation. A first clue to the unusual nature of bass instrument performance is found in the form of references to specific players of the *viola bastarda*, whose skills were considered so noteworthy as to generate comment and praise. The following names are documented: Tarquinia Molza (whose prowess as a virtuoso viol player was described by Francesco Patrizi in 1577), Duritio Isorelli (who played in the Florentine intermedii, 1589), Claudio Monteverdi (who is described by his brother Giulio Cesare Monteverdi in 1607 as a player of ‘*le due Viole bastarde*’), Paolo Stainhauser (to whom Rognoni dedicated his *modo difficile* setting of ‘Vestiva’ in 1620) and the three lady virtuosos of the Avogadri family: Margherita Aldobrandini, Duchess of Parma and Piacenza, Giulia Avogadri, Countess of Rollo, and Lucrezia d’Este, Duchess of Urbino (to whom Bonizzi dedicated his 1626 collection). These particular names and associations indicate evidence of performance of the *bastarda* repertoire by a select few, and by individuals who became renowned specifically for their abilities as performers. No works for the *viola bastarda* have survived that were penned by these particular individuals. Also noteworthy: several of these musicians were women and a number of them members of noble households.<sup>42</sup>

A second clue to the relatively novel nature of melodic bass music may be deduced from didactic manuals. As was remarked previously, there are very few bass tutorials or bass pieces included in the published manuals, so this, too, conveys the impression that a soloistic bass was at least initially out of the norm. And from the sixteenth century, remarkably few additional melodic, non-consort, materials for bowed bass instruments are known to exist other than the ones currently referred to in relation to the *viola bastarda*. There are only two other big sources that come to mind: Ganassi’s *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542-43) and Ortiz’s *Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas* (Rome, 1553). These publications appeared a mere ten years apart from each other, and both

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<sup>42</sup> A minor digression: since Bonizzi’s works seemingly necessitate the G violone, the fact that he dedicated them for the use of a coterie of noble women is especially striking.

were published by Italian presses. However, the two compositional styles are actually quite different. Where Ganassi's writing contains many chords (even in the solo *rechercai*), Ortiz's is entirely linear, ornate and through composed. With just a cursory glance, it should be obvious that Ortiz has much in common with the *bastarda* materials that were assessed earlier. The pedagogical examples for consort music embellishment that Ortiz provided in the *Primo Libro* were primarily based on treble lines, but in the *Segundo Libro*, 25 of 27 solo pieces require an unspecified bass instrument (that is referred to by the term '*Violon*'), with some descending as low as D and going as high as a'. Even more interesting, however, in that volume Ortiz took the time to provide detailed explanation for the compositional processes he utilized, elucidating the various 'structures' that could be employed for instrumental music. It is worth taking time to examine these descriptions carefully because they do in fact closely mirror the forms that are found in the *bastarda* materials. Ortiz says:

'[My] *segundo Libro* deals with the manner of playing the *Violone* with *Cimbalo*, of which there are three ways: The first is called Fantasia. The second is over *canto llano* [cantus firmus, or a ground]. The third is over a composition of many voices [polyphony].

I cannot show how to do Fantasia, because every good player will play in his own way, as per his own study and use. I will say that for playing Fantasias, the *Cimbalo* should play well ordered chords, over which the *Violone* plays some light *passaggi*, and when the *Violone* settles on some long notes then the *Cimbalo* responds in proportion, and they make some beautiful fugues while listening to and respecting each other and with joint practice, they will discover for themselves many excellent and worthy secrets...

The four *recercadas* that follow are best suited to loosen and exercise the hand, and they also serve as examples of how to play the *Violon* without accompaniment. [Editorial note: these *recercadas* are not illustrations of Fantasias, the first compositional style described. They are actually a fourth type of composition, which will be discussed, below.]

About the second way of playing the *Violon* with *Cymbalo* that is over a *canto llano*: For this I give six *recercadas*; the *contrabaxo* [i.e. original bass line] has to be played on the keyboard, accompanying with chords and some counterpoint in imitation of the *Violon*. These six examples and this manner of accompaniment suit the *recercadas* well because the counterpoint is flexible... There are other examples based on *tenores* [i.e. ground basses] at the end of the book, to satisfy different tastes; each person may choose may choose the one that suits him best.

The third way of playing the *Violon* with *Cymbalo* is based on complex things [polyphonic compositions]: Take a madrigal or motet or other work one wishes to play and put it on the *cimbalo* in the usual manner. Over everything [all the original voices], players of the *Violon* can play composites of two or three, or more lines. Here I put four [examples] over the Madrigal that follows. The first is the *contrabaxo* [bass line] of the work with some *glosas* and slow *passaggi*. The second is *glosas* on the soprano line, and here it creates a more gracious [effect] when the *cymbalo* does not play

the soprano [i.e. duplicate that voice in the accompaniment]. The third is similar to the first only more difficult because it requires a more svelte hand. The fourth is an extra [new] fifth voice, to which no one is obligated, because it presupposes compositional ability in the player to be able to create it.

[This third way of playing] is different from the material contained in the *Primo Libro* which [relates to] playing in a consort of four or five *vihuelas*. There it is necessary in a good performance for the counterpoint to always be in proportion to the voice being played, to avoid the error some players incur who amuse themselves [playing divisions] while ignoring the principal subject that is the original composed voice. But in this way of playing [the third style] there is no need to remain tied to one voice alone, because even if the *contrabaxo* is the principal part used, one can leave it and play on the tenor, contralto or soprano according to the best purpose. And the reason for this is that the *Cymbalo* perfectly well plays all the parts so it covers all the voices and the *Violon* adds grace, delighting listeners with the sounds of its strings.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *In questo secondo Libro si trattano le varie maniere che si debbiano sonare col Violone, e col Cimbalo insieme, Tre sonno li maniere di sonare. La Prima si dice Fantasia. La Seconda sopra canto Piano. La terza sopra compositione di molte voci. La Fantasia non si puo mostrare, che ciascuno buon sonatore la suona di sua resta e di suo studio & uso ma ben direi quel che si richieda per sonarla. La fantasia che sonar il Cimbalo sia di consonanze ben ordinate ove poi entri sonando il Violone con alcuni leggiadri passaggi e quando el Violone si trattiene in alcune tirate overo archate piane allhora il Cimbalo gli risponda a proposto & insieme facciano alcune fughe belle havendo risguardo e rispetto l'un all'altro come suol haverli nelli Contraponti di consierto e cosi l'uno conosca l'altro, e con l'essercitatione commune si scopritanno li molti eccellenti e degni secreti che si contengono in questa maniera di sonare di Fantasia ma delle due altre maniere si sara mentione nelli lor convenevoli e proprii lochi. Queste quatro ricercate che qui seguono mi parve di porle libere & sciolte per essercitar la mano, & in parte dar qualche noticia del discorso che se ha da tener quando se sona un Violon solo. De la seconda maniera de taner el Violon con el Cymbalo que es sobre canto llano: Desta manera de tañer pongo aqui 6. Reçercadas sobre este canto llano que se sigue, el qual se ha de poner en el Cymbalo por donde esta apuntado por contrabaxo, acompañandole con consonancias y algun contrapunto al proposito de la Reçercada que tañera el Violon destas seys, y desta manera la Reçercada dira bien por que esde contrapunto suelto y aduierda el lector que desta manera de tañer ay otros exemplos sobre tenores en lo ultimo deste libro por satisfacer a diferentes gustos, cadauno tome, lo que mejor le pareziere. La tercera manera de tañer el Violon con el Cymbalo que es sobre cosas compuestas: Hase de tomar el Madrigal, o Motete, o otra qualquier obra que se quisiere tanner, y ponerla en el cimbalo, como ordinariamente se suele hazer, y el que tañe el Violon puede tañer sobre cada cosa compuesta dos o tres differentias, o mas. A qui pongo quatro sobre este Madrigal que se sigue. La primera es el mismo contrabaxo de la obra con algunas glosas y algunos passos largos. La segunda manera es el suprano glosado, y en esta manera de tañer tiene mas gracia que el que tañe el cymbalo no taña el suprano. La tercera manera es a imitacion de la primera si no que es mas dificultosa de tañer, por que requiere mas sueltura de manos. La quarta es vna quinta boz, ala qual no obligamos a nadie por que presupone abilidad de compostura en el tañedor para hazerla. Advierta el que hiziere profession desta manera del tañer, que es diferente de lo que tratamos en el primer libro que es tañer en consierto con quatro o cinco vihuelas, por que alli es necessario para que sea bien hecho que el contrapunto sea siempre a proposito de aquella boz que tañe, por que siempre ha de yr subiecto a ella, por evitar el error en que algunos incurren diuertiendo en hazer lo que les parece dexando el subiecto principal que es la boz compuesta. Mas en esta manera de tañer no es necesario yr atado siempre a vna boz, por que a vn que el subiecto principal ha deser el contrabaxo lo puede dexar y tañer sobre el tenor o contralto, o suprano como mejor le parziere tomando de cadauno lo que mas le viniere a proposito. Y la razon desto es por que el Cymbalo tanne la obra perfectamente con todas sus bozes, y lo que haze el Violon es acompañar y dar gracia a lo que el Cymbalo tanne, deleytando con el diferenciado sonido de la cuerda los oyentes. Modified translation compiled from I. Gammie, *Diego Ortiz Tratado de Glosas 1553* (St. Albans, n.d.) and A. Otterstedt, *Diego Ortiz Trattado de glosas* (Kassel, 2003).*

Nowhere does Ortiz use the term *bastarda*, but the styles of composition he describes were all in evidence in materials that have already been considered, and I believe his works should officially be included as part of this repertoire. His first type applies to a melodic bass composed over top of a simple (but presumably not pre-existing) bass line. The accompanying bass must have been carefully thought-through before anything else was done because Ortiz claims that this line is to be realized by a keyboardist, who plays not just linear pitches and rhythms, but also chords. The *Violon* then crafts a melodic counterpoint over top, with interaction and imitation between the two parts. Though the terms and formal definitions for ‘figured bass’ and ‘*basso continuo*’ do not date back to Ortiz’ time, this is surely the basic performance practice being described. Ortiz does not provide examples of this kind of writing, saying it is too difficult to demonstrate. And indeed, it would be challenging to document a precise record of figured bass realization where the accompaniment is ‘improvised’ by the individual player and considered ‘changeable’ from one performance to the next. The scribal difficulty he mentions is then not in reference to a melodic part, but rather to the accompanying line and the spontaneous interaction that is at heart extemporized between two players. Relating this practice and style to the *viola bastarda* repertoire, Virgiliano’s *Ricercata per Viola Bastarda e lauto* would seem to be an obvious example of this type of composition, since it was crafted over a bass line that doesn’t appear to have any pre-existing polyphonic or *cantus firmus*/ground bass affiliation.

The second method Ortiz describes is similar to the first, but this time the melodic part takes as its point of departure a ‘pre-existing’ bass line, along with any implied or directly-associated harmonic structure. In this category are all manner of plainsongs, *cantus firmi* and repeating basses. As examples, Ortiz provides six pieces based on *La Spagna* and here the model is long enough to generate an entire piece without having to repeat itself. The various *tenores* at the end of the book, however, are shorter, so those grounds are each repeated a couple of times, even though the melodic line is through composed with different material on each restatement of the ground. The simple tunes and repeating structures of Ortiz’s second type are found less frequently in the labelled *bastarda* material, but Negri and Lechler’s settings are clear examples, where elaborate melodic material is crafted on top of an *ostinato* bass.

Ortiz’s third system takes a polyphonic work as its foundation with all voices of the original realized in their entirety by the keyboard, and calls on the melodic bass to embellish the original lines. Given his introductory wording about embellishing more than one line, it is perhaps surprising that two of Ortiz’s pieces are embellishments of just the bass line and another two are embellishments of just the treble line. The remaining four do embellish more than one voice or are the creation of an entirely new voice. The *bastarda* repertoire contains many examples of this style of composition; some embellish a single voice (as in Bassani’s ‘Susanna’) and others embellish multiple lines (as in Bonizzi’s ‘Louisanze’).

Yet a fourth type of composition is illustrated by Ortiz, even though he does not describe it as such, or provide a detailed explanation. The first four *recercadas* he offers, ‘to loosen and exercise the hand’ are actually for an unaccompanied bass instrument playing entirely new melodic material that is



not based on any pre-existing structure. In modern parlance this would be called 'free improvisation;' in such a setting, the player or composer is able to create or extemporize a melody line at whim. From within the *bastarda* repertoire an example of this style of composition is found in the anonymous *Fantasy in Bastart* from Breslau 114.

Ortiz does not speak specifically about instrumental range, but the pieces he provides go well beyond the consort range for a bass instrument, exploiting tenor and even alto registers. Only two works in the entire collection utilize high clefs (C1) and those are the two pieces that specifically ornament treble lines of polyphonic models. Curiously, Ortiz does not say if these were intended for a treble instrument and since their ranges are considerably more modest than the bass pieces (the *recercada* based on 'O felici occhi miei' has a range of d' – f" and the *recercada* based on *Doulce memoire* is G – d'), perhaps he was expecting them to be played by the same tenor/bass *Violon* as for the other works? Or to be sounded in a lower octave? Or transposed to a different region of the instrument?

Final points about Ortiz centre on the perhaps surprising revelation that he expected his melodic basses to be accompanied by a keyboard instrument, and one that at times realized its part in a manner very similar to a *basso continuo*. Of course, in its earliest conception, *continuo* practice is associated with seventeenth century music, originating as a simple accompaniment for vocal monody. But Ortiz provides ready example that this component of monodic style was already known and used as the basis for instrumental music at least half a century earlier than generally credited. Also, the recommended use of a *Cymbalo* in and of itself implies this repertoire was realized in, shall we say, the milieu of a fairly well-to-do establishment; the cost and maintenance for such an instrument was fairly substantial. The use of a keyboard additionally conveys an image of these pieces being somewhat formally presented. There is a striking visual depiction of Ortiz's preferred collaborators in the form of an anonymous painting located at the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice, dated c1569 where a bass viol player is accompanied by a keyboard. The painting is unfinished with portions of the lower right side missing, but portrays three figures: an older man plays a viol, and two younger men in similar attire sit behind him, one at a polygonal virginal and the other with hands in playing position over an instrument not completely depicted (there is a mysterious object at his feet: the stripes suggest it may be bellows, or perhaps the back of a bass lute in which the ribs are of alternating colours).<sup>44</sup> Details and decoration visible on the spinet are an exact match for an extant instrument by Benedetto Floriani, located in Florence. It is identical but for the date, a year earlier than the instrument in the painting.<sup>45</sup> The date of 1569 that appears in the painting (on the spinet) is additionally confirmed as accurate because the fashions and clothing are also representative of this time (details such as white shoes

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<sup>44</sup> G. Rossi Rognoni, 'The Virginals of Benedetto Floriani (Venice, fl1568–1572) and a Proposal for a New Attribution', *GSI*, in press. I am very grateful to Dr. Rossi Rognoni for sharing details of his research by private communication in advance of the publication of his article.

<sup>45</sup> Florence, Collection of the Conservatory of Music, Musical Instrument Department of the Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no.1988/101.

without a heel, the style of the collars and cuffs of the shirts, the sleeves and shape of the jacket, the hairstyles and the downward turn of the viol player's moustache).<sup>46</sup> Although only five strings are shown, the viol has six pegs and considerably more frets than are currently standard (eight frets are visible plus the player's hand obscures as many as three more)<sup>47</sup>. Would the extra frets support the idea that this viol player sometimes exploited an extended higher register? With this attire, all three men are of noble bearing and though none have been identified, the viol player shares at least a passing resemblance to the image of Ortiz found as the frontispiece to *El primo libro*.



'I suonatori' (Musicians), Bolognese school, c1569, Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia. Oil on canvas, 1.29m x 1.06m. Reproduced with permission.

From Ortiz it is clear that sophisticated and variable compositional processes for linear melodic bass music were known at least as far back as the mid-sixteenth century, although they were likely not hugely common if he needed to spell them out in such detail. Regardless of whether they exploited an

<sup>46</sup> Details provided by personal communication from the Italian historical textile/fashion scholar Doretta Davanzo Poli, March 2013.

<sup>47</sup> Those tempted to dismiss certain details of the viol as exaggerations or inaccuracies on the part of the painter should be reminded that the incredible precision of detail on the spinet in this painting allows it to be matched to an extant instrument...

extended range, these processes would seem to mirror the general style of linear writing that was at the time common for players of treble instruments. In contrast, the pieces in Ganassi's *Regula Rubertina* (1542) and *Letttione Seconda* (1543) were likely born of a very different tradition. Ganassi was certainly aware of and proficient in the art of linear writing; his *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* lays out for players of the recorder a huge range of embellishment options in this style. But his writing for the viol is in quite a different vein, exhibiting prominent chordal elements and notated in Italian lute tablature as well as on a grand staff. Some of his instructions and techniques in *Letttione Seconda*<sup>48</sup> pertain specifically to the playing of the lute, which are then adapted to suit the viol. With these features, his viol music may be viewed not so much as adaption of linear treble melodic writing, as to imitation of polyphonic repertoires for plucked instruments and keyboards. Ganassi's madrigal setting of 'Io vorrei Dio d'amore' connects directly to the many sixteenth century polyphonic madrigals and chansons that were arranged for lute or keyboard (even mentioned by Ortiz), and lute songs where a polyphonic accompaniment formed the basis of accompaniment for a solo voice. Though Ganassi's free-form *recerchari* and discussion of *passaggi* above the frets<sup>49</sup> might superficially be argued to fit Ortiz's 'fourth' type of free composition, his lines exhibit much more in the way of leaps and skips and outlines of chords, interspersed with genuine chordal sections, than does Ortiz's writing, or the rest of the *bastarda* repertoire. Ganassi's solo viol pieces mirror the free-form works of his time for plucked instruments, where chordal and melodic elements alternate as contrasting material. From this perspective, the unusual elements of his viol writing are that a) it is for a bowed instead of plucked instrument and b) no other music like it exists for a bowed bass until at least half a century later.

Of course, skipping ahead 50 years and moving north and across the Channel, English bass music began to appear under the rubric of repertoire for the 'lyra viol'.<sup>52</sup> In its most basic form, Frank Traficante has categorized this as 'any music from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries notated in tablature

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<sup>48</sup> See especially Cap. VII to XIII.

<sup>49</sup> See especially Cap. XVIII. [NB formatting problems means footnote nos. inexplicably jump from 49 to 52]

<sup>52</sup> The earliest repertoire specifically for the 'lyra viol' is Robert Jones' *The Second Book of Songes and Ayres* (London 1601), though an earlier known appearance for the literary term occurs in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Arcadia* of 1593, where he says, 'By and by she might perceave the same voice, deliver it selfe into musicall tunes, and with a base Lyra give forth this songe.' Quoted in F. Traficante, 'Lyra-Viol Music?' *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 335.

and intended for a bowed viol with a curved bridge.<sup>53</sup> And Traficante also observed that a prime reason for the use of tablature was because it was ‘the clearest, most economical method of notating the kind of free-voice style’<sup>54</sup> [i.e. polyphony and chords]. But I think there is an even more provocative explanation for the use of tablature: it is pretty much a necessity because so much of the lyra viol repertoire exploits a *scordatura* tuning. While it would be relatively simple for players to learn to read from staff notation for just a few tunings, tablature enabled an easy adaptation to the myriad of different *scordatura* (nearly 60 of them!) that are documented as part of this repertoire. It is, of course, much easier for a player to read from something that instructs where the fingers are to be placed, rather than having to ‘recalculate’ where exact pitches occur in each new tuning. On a fundamental level, the use of *scordatura* and tablature do not greatly benefit or facilitate the playing of linear melodic lines. The adoption of specific *scordatura* surely came about because composers wanted the viol to be able to play chords in tonalities that were not otherwise easily accessible in ‘normal’ tuning. In any case, the three elements integrally linked as primary features for the lyra viol repertoire (*scordatura*, tablature, chordal elements) are in marked contrast to those for the *viola bastarda* (entirely linear melodic lines written in staff notation). And this basic differentiation allows the two repertoires to be relatively easily distinguished from each other. As such, I would classify Ganassi’s writing as early and Italianate writing for the lyra viol.

If *viola bastarda* and lyra viol writing are contrasting in style, one might go a step further to observe that consort bass playing is additionally set aside from those other two. This lays out three distinct styles of playing/writing for bass instruments during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The simplest occurs within a consort context, where a bass instrument is confined to a specific bass role and function, within a fairly limited range, but with license to add some modest embellishment. Such playing was widespread and was practiced by professionals and amateurs alike and the nature of playing within an ensemble meant that it was a social endeavour, sometimes created as a pastime solely for the enjoyment of the participants and other times presented in a setting for greater public consumption. In contrast, although a small portion of the lyra viol repertoire exists for an ensemble of players, much is for a solitary instrument and cultural descriptions suggest that this music was primarily enjoyed as a pastime, in the privacy of individual homes.<sup>56</sup> The repertoire includes a great number of popular tunes and dances, very often with binary and ternary forms, where chords alternate with melodic writing in a style that is self-accompanying. There are also a number of continental lyra

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<sup>53</sup> Traficante, *op. cit.*, 327.

<sup>54</sup> Traficante, *op. cit.*, 328.

<sup>56</sup> No definitive study of the lyra viol has yet been written, let alone one addressing its cultural context. It seems to me this would be a worthwhile area for further exploration. However, there are a number of literary examples that come to mind, such as Samuel Pepys’ diary, where the playing of the lyra viol is described as a solitary pastime.

sources from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century which document Lutheran hymns and psalms in ‘solo’ settings for the viol, presumably intended for private devotional purposes. And in contrast to these first two, *viola bastarda* music was specifically crafted as ornate linear melody for a bass instrument, often pushing into *tessiturae* associated with tenor, alto and even treble lines. The ‘high art’ works were carefully conceived and realized by specialists, who would have displayed through their playing both a high degree of theoretical/compositional knowledge and a tremendous specialist technical prowess. (It could perhaps be argued that *viola bastarda* music necessitated public presentation; why go to such extremes of effort if you are only going to play this for yourself?) In any case, these three styles of playing/writing are very different from each other not just for technical and compositional details, but also for their intellectual and sociological contexts. In the twenty-first century when all music has come to be lumped together and deemed suitable for public presentation and realized by players of all manner of motives and abilities it is easy to overlook the social differences and distinctions in playing styles that were surely significant to both players and listeners in these earlier times.

### **Melodic bass vocal music:**

Returning now to the subject of linear bass music, no matter how little soloistic instrumental bass music was composed and/or written down during the sixteenth century, there is another body of music for bass voice that illustrates a very similar style of writing. This music falls into forms that closely mirror Ortiz’s descriptions: solo songs with chordal accompaniment, solo vocal lines over repeating basses (especially the *romanesca* and *Ruggiero*) and embellished vocal settings that were based on a pre-existing polyphonic model. Italian lute songs for solo bass voice exist in at least eight prints dating from 1568-1603<sup>57</sup>. Some of these vocal works were initially termed ‘pseudo-monody’ by Einstein, who treated them as if they were the less-sophisticated cousins of the larger and later body of material dating to the early seventeenth century that is considered genuine monody, created ‘from scratch’ and espousing a more ‘modern’ approach. The earlier types have only relatively recently started to be sought out and assessed in their own right, with several writers striving to update the record. Lewis Lockwood does not mince words on this subject in his *New Grove* article about the Renaissance: ‘It is increasingly clear that solo singing with instrumental accompaniment, far from being a ‘discovery’ at the end of the sixteenth century, had long been practiced... The varied methods of performing polyphony regularly included the singing of a principal vocal part...of a chanson or madrigal to the accompaniment of a lute or other instruments. The tradition in Italian secular music for this type of performance not only went back to the *frottola* but predated the coalescence of that mixed genre into a semi-polyphonic literature, and it was above all in Italy that it continued to flourish.’<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> For a list, see Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 169-173.

<sup>58</sup> L. Lockwood, ‘Renaissance’, *GMO* (accessed 30 May 2014).

Recently, Richard Wistreich has looked at early Italian solo vocal music specifically designated for a bass voice and described the original sources as being ‘the bare remains of what was a very widespread performance practice, suggesting that solo song with instrumental accompaniment may have been *the* predominant way in which the secular forms – arias, *villanellas*, madrigals and *canzonettas* – were actually performed from as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.’<sup>59</sup> Where earlier authors such as Claude Palisca began and focused examinations on vocal works with instrumental accompaniment contained in Vincenzo Galilei’s *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence, 1581)<sup>60</sup>, Wistreich goes a step farther, calling attention to ‘a relatively large corpus of other Italian sources, which would tend to confirm that the singing of the bass line as a solo was far from unusual, certainly in the period beginning around 1570.’<sup>61</sup> Hardly a coincidence, the repertoire seems to have evolved first and foremost as embellishments for pre-existing bass lines drawn out of polyphonic works. This practice may strike a twenty-first century listener as odd, but it was probably not perceived this way in its own time. Wistreich explains:

On the face of it, there is something rather alien to the modern listener about hearing the bass line, with its typical series of jumps of fourths and fifths, foregrounded as a solo line, especially when the ear is so accustomed, in solo renditions of polyphonic madrigals, to hearing the cantus voice. Such disjunctive movement seems to contradict the very idea of ‘melody’ and all that it means to the ear...[However,] even a cursory survey of solo music for bass, both sacred and secular and encompassing not only Italian practice...from the late sixteenth century up to the late seventeenth, shows that the norm rather than the exception was that in compositions for solo bass voice, the sung line was the same as the ‘bass line’ of the composition. In other words, composers, performers and listeners *expected* the ‘tunes’ which bass singers sang to be made up largely of leaps of fourths and fifths and octaves that characterize the harmonic progressions that underpin the basic stepwise progressions of soprano (or tenor) melodies in polyphonic music.<sup>62</sup>

Some early writing for solo bass voice was incredibly virtuosic and there are many examples where a bass voice was required to sing well beyond the usual bass range. As early as 1562, Giovanni Camillo Maffei observed that ‘there are many who can sing no other voice than the bass and many others are seen who are disposed only to singing one of the voices in a consort and this they can hardly do and with great irritation to the ear. On the contrary, others are found who can very easily sing in the bass, tenor and any other voice, and flourishing and making diminutions, with the throat they make *passaggi* in the low, middle

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<sup>59</sup> Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 160.

<sup>60</sup> Claude Palisca, ‘Vincenzo Galilei and some Links between ‘Pseudo-Monody’ and Monody’ and ‘Vincenzo Galilei’s Arrangements for Voice and Lute’ both in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 346-363 and 364-388.

<sup>61</sup> Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 161.

<sup>62</sup> Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 161-162.

and high, a thing beautiful to hear.<sup>63</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani's musical memoir *Discorso* looks back to what he describes as the beginning of this practice:

In the Holy Year of 1575 or shortly afterwards, there began a style of singing very different from that which had gone before, and which continued for some years afterwards, principally singing to a solo instrument, for example by one Giovanni Andrea (Napolitano) and by Signor Cesare Brancaccio and Alessandro Merlo (Romano) who all sang bass with a range extending over 22 degrees of the scale, with a variety of *passaggi* new and pleasing to everybody's ears. They inspired composers to write works which could be performed by several voices, as well as one voice alone accompanied by an instrument in imitation of the above-mentioned singers...and there emerged as a result some mixed *villanelle* combining aspects of polyphonic madrigals and villanelle, many books of which are seen today...<sup>64</sup>

The 22 notes that Giustiniani's named singers could apparently encompass seems to be a very precise figure, but that number is confirmed through a second, earlier document, dating to c1600, this time written by the Neapolitan cornetto player, Luigi Zenobi. In the *Discorso sopra la musica*, Zenobi writes to an unknown patron, advising him on desirable attributes of musicians for use in making decisions about whom to hire for his court, and concerning bass singers he says, 'He must be able to make the *trillo* and have a polished *tremolo* and a consistent, rounded tone in both the low and high registers; neither can he be said to be a real bass if he does not have a range of 22 notes from top to bottom with the same roundness of tone throughout.'<sup>65</sup> In the Guidonian system, which represents all 'possible' pitches for singing, the *ambitus* between *Gamma-ut* at the bottom of the lowest hexachord and *ee-la* at the top of the highest hexachord encompasses exactly 22 notes, or a total range of two octaves plus a major sixth. Therefore, a singer who could cover all of these pitches might in Maffei's words be said to be able to sing 'all of music.'<sup>66</sup> Taking this analogy one step further, there is a lovely quote by Vincenzo Galilei that reads:

It is evident that using few notes is natural both in speaking and singing, since the end of one and the other is solely the expression of the states of the soul by means of words, which when well expressed and

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<sup>63</sup> ...di qui nasce, che molti sono i quali non ponno altra voce ch'il basso cantare. E' molti anchora se ne veggono che non sono, se non ad una delle voci del conserto inchinati, e quella con grandissimo fastidio dell'orecchia appena cantano. E per il contrario, poi se ne trovano alcuni, ch'il basso, il tenore e ogni altra voce, con molta facilità cantano; e fiorendo, e diminoendo [sic], con la gorga, fanno passaggi, hora ne l basso, hora nel mezzo, et hora nell'alto, ad intendere bellissimi. G.C. Maffei, *Delle lettere* (Naples, 1562), 18. Translation from Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 182.

<sup>64</sup> L'anno santo del 1575 o poco dopo si cominciò un modo di cantare molto diverso da quello di prima, e così per alcuni anni seguenti, massime nel modo di cantare con una voce sola sopra un instrumento, coll'esempio d'un Gio. Andrea napoletano, e del sig. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio e d'Alessandro Merlo romano, che cantavano un basso nella larghezza dello spazio di 22 voci, con varietà di passaggi nuovi e grata all'orecchie di tutti. I quali svegliarono i compositori a far opere tanto da cantare a più voci come ad una sola sopra un istrumento, ad imitazione delli suddetti... English translation from J.W. Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata and Opera* (Oxford, 1997), Vol. 1, 102.

<sup>65</sup> Deve poi haver trillo, e tremolo netto, e voce nell'alto e nel basso eguale tondezza di tuba; né si potrà dire realmente Basso, se non va ventidue voci alto, e basso con eguale tondezza di tuba. B.J. Blackburn and E.E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and his Letter on the Perfect Musician.' *Studi musicali*, 22 (1993), 82.

<sup>66</sup> Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 195-196.

understood by the listeners, generate in them whatever affections the musician cares to treat through this medium... The three or four notes that a tranquil soul seeks are not the same as those which suit the excited spirit, or one who is lamenting, or a lazy and somnolent one. For the tranquil soul seeks the middle notes; the querulous, the high; and the lazy and somnolent, the low. Thus, also, the latter will use slow metres; the tranquil the intermediate; and the excited the rapid. In this way the musician will tend to use now these and another time others, according to the affection he wants to represent and impress on the listeners.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps this explains, in a nutshell, why multi-registral repertoire (vocal and instrumental) was so highly cultivated and celebrated. Where nowadays we tend to most readily observe and value a musician's athleticism (that is referred to as 'virtuosity'), in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, musicians who were able to exploit multiple registers would likely have been perceived as being able to convey a broader range of emotions than those who were confined to a single register. Their music would therefore have been perceived as extremely 'affective,' and at precisely a time and region when the emotional potential of music was being cultivated and pushed to extremes.

Once one begins to look for it, there is a substantial subset of music for bass voice that exploits an extended range (sometimes referred to in modern parlance as 'tenor-bass' music and other times as 'multi-registral' music) though much of it dates to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 3). This body of repertoire has garnered little attention, perhaps because when viewed in comparison to the expanded palette and virtuosity of monodic works of the slightly later period, the bass music no longer comes across as extraordinary or unusual and its numbers are by then dwarfed by virtuosic music for higher voices. Looking back to the sixteenth century, however, there is at least one sizable source that contains many extended bass range pieces that would seem to have much in common with music for the *viola bastarda*. That is Giovanni Bassano's *Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese diminuiti* of 1591. The volume contains 47 works for voices, all based on pre-existing polyphonic models. Six are embellished bass parts (staying within their original *tessitura*) but an additional seven pieces are labelled '*per più parti*' and require a bass voice to decorate both original bass and tenor lines, and occasionally even the alto or *quintus* parts. Coincidentally, these pieces do exhibit the cumulative functioning range of 22 notes, from C' – a! Bassano also provided some rare and valuable insight about accompaniment, saying, 'Make sure always to play the bass of these melodies as a foundation for the music; the melodies diminished in this manner could be played in concert featuring the voice alone among the other instruments [of the consort] or with only a quilled instrument [harpsichord] sounding the bass together with the simplified [melodic/solo] voice.'<sup>68</sup> Note that once again harpsichord is mentioned as a prime vehicle for

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<sup>67</sup> V. Galilei, 'Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'uso dell'enharmonio con la solutione di essi' MSS Galileiani, Anteriori a Galileo Vol. 3, 67r-67v, quoted in translation only in Palisca, *op. cit.*, 347.

<sup>68</sup> *Avertendo di far sonare sempre il Basso di questi Canti come fondamento di essa Musica: quail Canti diminuiti in questa maniera potrà servire in concerto contando quella sol voce fra altri Isrtumenti, overo solo in'Instrumento da penna con il suo Basso sonato, & la semplice voce.* Translation from Wistreich, *op. cit.*, 187.



accompaniment; in any case, this range of accompanying options so clearly laid out should also be considered highly applicable for a portion of the *viola bastarda* repertoire.

**Table 3****Examples of Notable Multi-registral Bass Vocal Music (where the term ‘*bastarda*’ does not appear):**

(see Appendix for full citations and links to scores)

<b>Date:</b>	<b>Author:</b>	<b>Publication:</b>	<b>Title:</b>
1591	Giovanni Bassano	Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese diminuiti	Anchor che col partire, per sonar più parti
			La bella, netta, ignuda e Bianca mano, per più parti
			Quando I vostri, Per più parti
			Liquide perle Amor, per più Parti
			Quando Signor, per più Parti
			Ma poichè vostr’ altezza, per più Parti
			Nasce la pena mia, per più parti
1602	Giulio Caccini	Le nuove musiche	Muove di dolce
			Chi mi confort’ ahimè
1606	Bartolomeo Barbarino	Madrigali di diversi autori	Quando i più grave accenti
1607	Bartolomeo Barbarino	Il secondo libro	Ferma, ferma Caronte
1607	Claudio Monteverdi	L’Orfeo	Possente spirtu
1613	Angelo Notari	Prime musiche nuove	Ben qui si mostra il ciel, “may as well be sunge...as played upon the Violl”
1613	Giovanni Ghizzolo	Il terzo libro delli madrigali	O Mirtillo
1614	Giulio Caccini	Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle	Io che l’età solea viver
			Deh, chi d’alloro mi fa ghirlanda
1618	Gio. Domenico Puliaschi	Gemma musicale/Musiche varie	Locar sopra gl’abissi
			Pace non truovo
			Dunque è pur ver ch’io viva
			Occhi meco piangete

	Puliaschi, cont'd		Dovrò dunque partire
			Deh mirate luce ingrata
1620	Francesco Rognoni	Selve de varii passaggi...parte seconda	Sfoga va con le stelle
			Tempesta di dolcezza
1633	Benedetto Ferrari	Musiche Varie a voce sola	Premo il giogo dell' Alpi
			Non hà Theti e Guinon pompa piu bella
			Questa bella mortal
			Mentre io v'adore
			Peregrino pensier ch'ardito

Moving into the seventeenth century, there are many further examples of melodic music for bass voice, and predominantly ones where the melody was crafted anew, rather than being based on pre-existing lines. As such, these pieces are typically classified as genuine monody. Works in this category begin with Giulio Caccini who published two arias for solo bass in his 1602 publication; one is labelled a *madrigal* and the other an *aria*. The first exploits a two-octave range, from D – d', and the second pushes the voice down even lower to a low B' flat. Just a few years later in 1614, Caccini again wrote for an expanded bass, calling attention to two multi-registral pieces on the title page '*due Arie particolari per Tenori che ricerchi le corde del Basso*;' one of these is a religious sonnet, and both pieces exploit an even larger range than the 1602 works, from C – g'. There are numerous other ornate, extended range monodic works by composers such as Bartolomeo Barbarini, Claudio Monteverdi, Giovanni Ghizzolo and even an entire collection for solo extended bass voice by Giovanni Domenico Puliaschi (1618),<sup>70</sup> these pieces exhibit a combined overall expanded compass from B' flat to a'. Angelo Notari's 'Ben si qui mostra il ciel' indicates there was knowledge of this type of music in England, where his *Prime musiche nuove* was published in 1613. An adaption of de Rore's madrigal, Notari exploits the range from E – a' with the vocal line in turn embellishing all four of the original voices, to the accompaniment of a simple basso continuo. Perhaps the most stunning of all the solo bass repertoire are the pieces by the Venetian virtuoso theorbist Benedetto Ferrari, who is best known today as one of the main proponents for establishing public opera performances in Venice, c1637-44. To date, I have not found his vocal music so much as remarked upon, elsewhere. His *Musiche varie a voce sola* (Venice, 1633) offers five secular bass arias with ranges from C – g' with writing that exhibits dramatic leaps of large compass and extremely florid passagework.<sup>71</sup> Many are settings of his own poetry and combine recitative-like elements with melodic writing.

None of the above-mentioned works for extended vocal bass employ the term *alla bastarda*, but in every way this writing fits the style and details observed earlier in the repertoire with that assignation. If the term was originally applied because melodic bass music was 'unusual,' perhaps the application of this term became more and more redundant as soloistic bass music became common? The roots of vocal *nuove musiche* can clearly be traced to the sixteenth century decorations of pre-existing works, but as musical tastes and styles changed in the early seventeenth century, new forms appeared, with melodic lines crafted in their own right, to be accompanied by a simple *basso continuo*. Virtuoso instrumental music, too, followed exactly this trajectory. Though never categorized as 'monody' because it is not texted, *viola bastarda* music may be seen to embrace and illustrate very similar, if not identical features, as virtuosic bass vocal music of the same period and region.

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<sup>70</sup> See Wistreich, *op. cit.*, for a discussion and elucidation of many of these pieces.

<sup>71</sup> My study of the vocal works could hardly be called complete; my hope and expectation is that many additional examples will come to light after further research.

## Literary descriptions:

Turning back now specifically to the *viola bastarda*, literary descriptions should at long last be assessed. There are only three documents that address the *viola bastarda* as a genre in any depth and the first comes from the same author and source as the earliest marked repertoire, Girolamo Dalla Casa. His comments are located at the beginning of *Libro secondo* (1584) and occur in the form of several paragraphs couched as explanation for the musical materials that will follow: 'In this second book will be found running diminutions based on *Canzoni Francese & Madrigali*, for all kinds of instruments, where all in the profession may find examples to be used in consort with wind instruments, and keyboards, and even stringed instruments, with *Viole da gamba* and with *Viole da braccio* and in all the *Canzoni* I have mixed the kinds of figures that were described in the *Primo Libro*.<sup>72</sup> In the second paragraph he discusses how the pieces were crafted, especially as regards to subdivision of the beat. The third paragraph is headed '*Della viola bastarda*' where he continues:

I also wanted to do this somewhat challenging work of making diminutions on several four-part canzonas and madrigals to be played by the *viola bastarda*; in such a practice one plays all the parts, like the professionals who do it for a living. For the instruction of those who want to learn to do this, I have made diminutions on two songs entirely in eighth notes so that one may see how this is done, and after these you have sixteenth notes... so that anyone can practice and learn this manner of playing... At the end I have made diminutions on two other songs, one in triplets and one in thirty-second notes, to show by example what others have not written.<sup>73</sup>

Dalla Casa's second volume contains 14 soloistic pieces for unspecified treble instrument, ten pieces marked for *viola bastarda*, eight ornamented treble vocal lines and finally a consort setting of Cipriano de Rore's *sestina* '*A la dolc'ombra*' with embellishments in all four vocal parts. Of all the musical contents, only the *viola bastarda* music requires a bass range instrument and exploits a three-octave range, from D – d". Dalla Casa is the only author to prescribe that *bastarda* diminutions are based on 'all parts' of a polyphonic model, describing a compositional process whereby a single line is crafted of multiple parts/registers from a previous work. While these elements certainly hold true in his own works, they may hardly be taken as universal features for the entire *bastarda* repertoire, as was observed above. Also note that Dalla Casa did not

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<sup>72</sup> In questo Secondo Libro si tratta del diminuir corrente sopra diverse Canzoni Francese, & Madrigali per tutte le sorte de stromenti. Dove che ogn'uno nella professione sua potra essercitarsi & usarle in compagnia de gli stromenti di fiato, & di tasti, & anco di corda, con Viole da gamba, & con Viole da Braccio, & havete sopra tutte le Canzoni il diminuir misto delle quattro figure...nel Primo Libro. Translation of this author.

<sup>73</sup> Ho voluto anco far questa poca fatica di diminuir alquante Canzoni, & Madrigali a 4. per sonar con la uiola bastarda; nella qual professione si ua toccando tutte le parti. si come fanno gli intelligenti, che ne fanno professione. Et per intelligenza di quelli, che uogliono essercitarsi in detta professione io ho diminuito doi Canti tutti de Crome: accio si possi ueder, come ua questo modo di sonar, & doppo questi hauete le Semicrome, & l'altre due figure. Doue ogn'uno potra essercitarsi, & imparar il modo di questo sonare. Et nel fine ho diminuito doi altri Canti l'uno tutto delle Treplicate, & l'altro delle Quadruplicate per mostrar in essemplio ad ogn'uno che si diletta quello, che altri non hanno scritto. Translation from Paras, *op. cit.*, 6-7.

prescribe a specific instrument for *bastarda* playing but both *braccio* and *gamba* family instruments are mentioned in the first section as suitable for diminution playing. I find the most revelatory element in this source to be the confirmation that the practice was primarily the purview of professional players, who were already in the habit of making diminutions in this manner even though they had not set them down on paper. This clarifies that the *bastarda* genre had precedent and history before Dalla Casa wrote about it in 1584; he may be the first known author to document the term and examples of the genre, but neither the term nor the style were his own creation.

The remaining literary descriptions for the *viola bastarda* involve both a fast-forward of 35 years and a departure from Italy. Francesco Rognoni was part of a Lombard musical dynasty and son of the celebrated string player, Riccardo Rogniono, who was settled by 1592 in Milan. Little is known of Francesco's training or early life, except that he was initially employed as a string player in at the Polish court of Sigismund III (r.1587-1632) before taking up service in Italy at the Fieschi court in Masserano in 1610.<sup>74</sup> *Selva de varii passaggi* was published in Milan in 1620, but dedicated to Sigismund III, and one must assume that it was at least partially reflective of tastes and practices that he had come to know while working in Warsaw. (His slightly later collection of masses and motets, dated 1624, is dedicated to Archduke Karl of Austria.) As was discussed earlier, as a pedagogical tutor instructing players step-by-step how to create *passaggi*, it is the final work of its kind.<sup>75</sup> Rognoni's duties in Poland and Italy included the training of instrumentalists on both wind and string instruments and *through Selva* he may be seen to have been communicating a practice that he would have learned and practiced himself, but that was by 1620 in Italy was starting to decline. A shift in style can easily be seen by comparing Rognoni's writing to that of Vincenzo Bonizzi, whose *Alcune opere* was published only 6 years later (and one of Bonizzi's pieces, 'La bella e netta ignuda', is known in manuscript form from as early as 1620-22). Rognoni's writing is similar to Dalla Casa (1584) in his strict allegiance to pre-existing polyphonic works, whereas Bonizzi's writing combines new counterpoint with old, exploits a more ambitious *ambitus* and provides a continuo bass line for accompaniment. At the time of Rognoni's publication, *bastarda* writing was surely broadening and shifting in Italy to incorporate and reflect these newer tastes, but it is likely that the more antiquated features were still valued and imitated north of the alps, especially in counter-reformative communities where Palestrina-like polyphony and its related practices were still propagated.

As prefatory material to the *Parte Seconda*, Rognoni offers five paragraphs, headed: 'On the nature of the *Viola da Gamba*,' 'On the *Lira da Gamba* and *da Brazzo*,' 'On the *Viola Bastarda*,' 'On the nature of wind instruments' and 'The *Viole da braccio*.' He says:

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<sup>74</sup> B. Dickey, 'The Rognoni Family and the Art of Diminution' Preface to *Riccardo Rognoni: Passaggi per potersi... facsimile edition* (Bologna, 2002), 23.

<sup>75</sup> Quite a number of other authors continued to publish '*arie passeggiati*' even later in the seventeenth century, but Rognoni is the final author to have published a method centred on short pedagogical examples for tutorial. See E.T. Ferand, 'Didactic Embellishment in the Late Renaissance: A Survey of Sources', *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York, 1966).

The *viola bastarda*, which is the queen of the other instruments for making *passaggi*, is an instrument that is neither a tenor nor a bass Viola, but is between the one and the other in size. It is called *bastarda* because it goes now high, now low, now very high, now it takes one part, now another, now with new counterpoint, now with *passaggi* of imitation. But one must be advised that the imitations should not have more than six or seven replies at the most because otherwise it would become tedious and displeasing. The same is true of all the other instruments because the schools of fine players do not permit it. They also prohibit making parallel octaves or fifths with one of the other parts in divisions if one is not forced into it by following some imitations. Today one sees many who play the cornetto or the violin or other instruments who do nothing but make *passaggi*; whether good or bad they always make them, driving mad those who understand the profession, ruining all of the pieces, thinking that they are doing well. For these players it would be better to play outdoors than in ensembles, since they do not know how to hold a single note with grace, or with a sweet bow, doing many *passaggi* where they should not be. This manner of playing divisions *alla bastarda* is used on organs, lutes, harps and similar instruments.<sup>76</sup>

Note that Rognoni's discussion of *viola bastarda* music occurs outside the sections for gamba and violin family instruments, and he in fact refers to it as an 'other' instrument; this is mentioned because he is very often quoted in translation, with the generic 'viola' being interpreted (without any additional note or comment) as 'viola da gamba.' Taking his actual wording literally leads to a conclusion that the *viola bastarda* was not specifically of either the viol or violin family, but rather a bowed instrument of a size (and therefore, range) between a bass and tenor instrument. He speaks of the writing as going very high and very low and everywhere in between, and specifically advocates the artful construction of new counterpoint in the form of imitative counterpoint and sequential material. His claim that playing *alla bastarda* was known for other instruments must surely be taken with a grain of salt since this term has not been found appended in any sources for the harp, or keyboard.

Where Rognoni's treatise was clearly borne of Italianate connections and traditions but directed to a northern patron, the third detailed literary description of the *bastarda* term comes from a true Germanic source: Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619):

*Viola Bastarda*: This is a kind of viola da gamba. It is tuned the same as the tenor gamba (which can be used in its place if necessary) but its body

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<sup>76</sup> 'La Viola Bastarda, qual è Regina delli altri instrumeti, per passeggiare, è vn instrumeto, qual non è, ne tenore, ne basso de Viola, rna è trà l'vno, e l'altro di grandezza, si chiama Bastarda, perche hora vâ nell'acuto, hora nel graue, hora nel sopra acuto, 4 hora fa vna parte, hora vn'altra, hora . \ con nuoui contra ponti, hora con pasaggi d'imitationi, mà bisogna auertire, che le imitationi, non habbino più di sei, ò sette risposte al più, perche sarebbe poi tedioso, e di disgusto, il medemo, s'intende ancora de tutte le sorti d'instrumenti, perche le scole de valenti suonatori, non lo permettono, prohibiscono ancora nei pasaggi, far due ottaue, e due quinte, con alcuna de l'altre parti, se non s'è più che sforzato, per seguir qualche imitationi; si vedon'hoggidi, molti che suonano ò di Cornetto, ò Violino, ò altro instrumeto, che non fanno altro che passeggiare, ò sia buono, ò sia catiuo, pur che sempre faccino pasaggi, rompendo la testa à chi sà del mestiero, ruuinando tutto il canto, pensando di far bene; a costoro sarebbe meglio che andassero à suonare, come si suol dir alla frascata, che nei concerti, non sapendo che val più saper tener vna nota con gratia, over vn'arcata dolce, e soaue; che far tanti pasaggi fuori del suo dovero. Questo modo di passeggiare alla Bastarda, serue per Organi, Liuti, Arpe, & simili.' Translation by Dickey, *op. cit.*, 40-41.

is somewhat longer and larger.<sup>77</sup> I do not know if its name, *Bastard*, was taken so to speak, because it affords a mixture of all parts. It is not restricted to any one part and a good player is able to execute on it madrigals, or whatever else he wishes to play, by skillfully carrying the imitations and harmonies through all possible voices – now above in the descant, now below in the bass, and now in the middle on the tenor and alto; and embellishing them with leaps and ornamentations and so treating the piece that all its voices can be heard quite clearly in their imitations and cadences. I wanted at first to include two or three examples at the end of the third part for the benefit of those to whom it is unfamiliar; but have decided to save it for the appendix of the third volume, namely under *Instructionem pro Symphoniacis*.<sup>78</sup> [Praetorius unfortunately never included the promised examples.] The *viola bastarda* is tuned in various manners, as may be seen from the table, and in other ways besides, depending on how a piece has been arranged. Something quite unusual has been devised for this instrument in England. Below the usual six strings, eight more steel or wound brass strings are spanned over a brass bridge, like those used on pandoras. These strings must be exactly and justly tuned together with the upper set of strings. Now, when one of the upper gut strings is touched by the finger or by a bow, the brass or steel strings of the lower rank resonate along with it with a sympathetic shaking and quivering, such that the loveliness of the harmony is increased and heightened.<sup>78</sup>

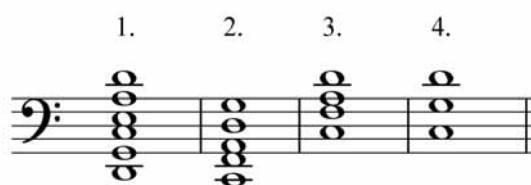
After all the previous examinations and analysis, it should be immediately evident that Praetorius's description poses some problems and contradictions. To start, he is the sole author to designate the *viola bastarda* as a member of the gamba family, calling it a large form of the 'tenor' viol, and saying that it is tuned like a tenor viol. This is seemingly very clear. Turning to the tuning chart he offers for the '*Tenor//Alt Viol de Gamba*,' four tunings are listed:

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<sup>77</sup> Praetorius' written description and tuning chart for viols makes it clear his 'tenor' instrument was tuned in D, and his 'bass' instrument was the larger G or A violone. See below for more discussion on this subject.

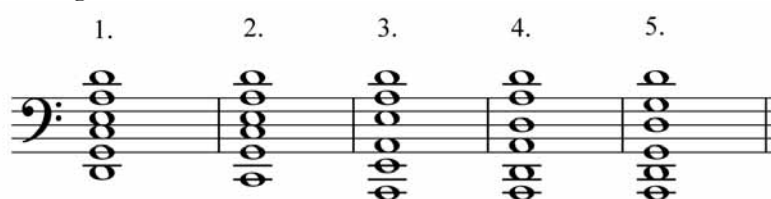
<sup>78</sup> '*Dieses ist eine Art von Violn de Gamba, wird auch gleich also/ wie ein Tenor von Violn de Gamba gestimmt/ (den man auch in manglung darzu brauchen kan) Aber das Corpus ist etwas länger und grösser. Weiss nicht/ Ob sie daher den Namen bekommen/ dass es gleichsam eine Bastard sey von allen Stimmen; Sintemal es an keine Stimme allein gebunden/ sondern ein guter Meister di Madrigalien, vnnd was er sonst uff diesem Instrument musiciren will vor sich nimpt/ vnd die Fugen vnd Harmony mit allem fleiss durch alle Stimmen durch vnd durch/ bald oben aufsm Cant, bald vnten aufsm Bass/ bald in der mitten aufsm Tenor vnd Alt herausser suchet/ mit saltibus vnd diminutionibus zieret/ vnd also tractiret, dass man ziemlicher massen fast alle Stimmen eigentlich in ihren Fugen vnd cadentien daraus vernemen kann. Wie ich dann den vnwissenden zur nachrichtung 2. oder 3. Exempel am ende dieses dritten Theils hette mit einsetzen wollen: Wil es aber sparen/ biss in den Appendicem Tertij Tomi, nim: Instructionem pro Symphoniacis. Es werden aber solche Violn de Bastarda vff mancherlei Art gestimmt/ als in der Tabell zu ersehen/ vnd noch vff viel andere weise mehr/ darnach der Meister den Gesang gesetzt vnd gerichtet hat. Jetzo ist in Engelland noch etwas sonderbares darzu erfunden/ dass vnter den rechten gemeinen sechs Saitten/ noch acht andere Stalene vnd gedrehte Messings-Saitten/ vff ein Messingen Steige (gleich die vff den Pandorren gebraucht werden) liegen/ welche mit den Obersten gleich vnd gar rein eingestimmt werden müssen. Wenn nun der obersten dermern Saitten eine mit dem Finger oder Bogen gerühret wird/ so resoniret die vnterste Messings- oder Stälene Saitten per consensum zugleich mit zittern und tremuliren, also/ dass die Liebligkeit der Harmony hierdurch gleichsam vermehret und erweitert wird.*' Modified translation based on Paras, *op. cit.*, 11-12.





The first refers to the six-string D-tuning that is nowadays widespread and standard for the size instrument more commonly referred to as the ‘bass’ viol. The second is for a five-string instrument that is for all intensive purposes a G violone tuning (that Praetorius elsewhere describes as a ‘*klein baß viol de gamba*’), but lacking its sixth, lowest, G’ string. The third and fourth options are for four- and three- string viols, respectively. What is evident from this chart is that Praetorius was familiar with at least four ‘types’ of instruments that were called by the name ‘tenor/alto viol,’ and these may be distinguished from each according to their number of strings, which naturally requires them to have different tunings. For purely practical reasons, it is only the first two types that could possibly be used for *some* of the *bastarda* materials. The last two can be ruled out since they do not extend low enough to be used for *any* of the music that bears a *viola bastarda* designation.

Considering that Praetorius unequivocally states that the *viola bastarda* is tuned the same as the tenor viol, one might assume these initial tunings to be adequate. But he goes on to complicate matters by providing a second, separate tuning chart for the ‘*Viol Bastarda*’ with four new/different tunings:



Here, the first tuning accords with the first previously supplied for the tenor viol and the second is not too far fetched, since everything is the same except for a bottom string that is set a tone lower (to C). The final three tunings pose some problems. As has been remarked by previous authors, these are instantly recognizable and familiar as tunings for the lyra viol (more on this subject, below). And this raises a very important point. Praetorius’s tenor/alt gamba chart described four different types of instruments (that were likely different from each other based on their having a certain number of strings) and what he believed to be the usual tunings for each of those types. But the *viola bastarda* chart instead describes a single type of viol – a six-string instrument where the top string was always tuned to d’ – plus four possible *scordatura* for that size/type. This distinction is crucial because historically, whenever players of string instruments were called upon to utilize a *scordatura*, their music was notated in some sort of special way that visually assisted navigation on unfamiliar strings. For viol players in *scordatura*, the commonly known and accepted system of notation was tablature, and by 1619, music for a *scordatura* viol notated in tablature had been known for several decades. For players of

other types of bowed strings playing in *scordatura*<sup>79</sup>, a slightly different system was typically utilized: ‘handgrip notation,’ where pitches were written on the staff ‘as if’ the instrument was tuned in its ‘usual’ manner.<sup>80</sup> Both of these special forms of musical handwriting are instantly recognizable at sight, conveying the fact that a tuning outside the norm is necessary. And therein lies the crux of the problem. If the *viola bastarda* was indeed an instrument that utilized *scordatura* tunings, then one would expect to find tablature or hand-grip notation as a feature, as well as some indication of which specific tuning was required. But we have already determined that no such indicators exist. And even the single, late, anomalous Germanic example that was notated in tablature falls short because it specifically necessitates a bass viol in normal tuning!

If the conclusions of the detailed analysis above are correct, the *bastarda* repertoire was not designated for any single, specific type or tuning of bass instrument. In a certain sense, this means that Praetorius’s tunings could in fact be a valid option. But there is simply no evidence to confirm or support that these particular tunings were ‘widely used’ for the *bastarda* repertoire, and therefore, they should not be viewed as prescriptive. Plus, I believe there should be a ‘reason’ to employ a particular *scordatura*. For the lyra viol, that reason is the chordal exploitation of new/different tonal areas that are not easily accessible in a viol’s standard tuning. But what benefit would be afforded by Praetorius’s *scordatura* for the *viola bastarda* repertoire, beyond the extension of its range, down to low A’? None of these tunings would at all facilitate rapid lower passagework, and since the tuning of the top string seems to have always remained a d’, none of his tunings make the upper notes more readily accessible, either.

What Praetorius’s tunings do suggest is a knowledge of some elements of the English lyra viol tradition. All five of his *Viol Bastarda* tunings are incredibly well documented as tunings for the lyra viol, and they are not just *any* lyra tunings, but ones that were in common use at exactly this period, and with specific names by which they were commonly referenced:<sup>81</sup>

1. = normal bass tuning, also called ‘lute way’ or ‘viol way’: ffeff
2. = normal tuning with lowered bottom string: ffeffh
3. = ‘Alfonso way’: ffhfh
4. = ‘eights’ or ‘sette of eights’: fhfhf
5. = ‘Alfonsoe in fiufts’ (but probably with modified bottom string): fhfhf<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> A complete list of works for *scordatura* violin is provided in D. Glüxam *Die Violinskordatur und ihre Rolle in der Geschichte des Violinspieles* (Tutzing, 1999).

<sup>80</sup> A very few examples of handgrip notation for the viol may be found in suites by Godfrey Finger, pieces by Anthony Poole in F-Pn Vm7 137323 and two anonymous pieces in F-Pn res. 1111. These are all odd and unexpected given the widespread use and knowledge of tablature as a method for notating chordal viol music.

<sup>81</sup> F. Traficante, ‘Lyra Viol Tunings: All Ways have been Tryed to do It’, *Acta Musicologica* 42 (1970).

<sup>82</sup> Praetorius’s fifth tuning for the *viola bastarda* poses a curious dilemma. This tuning is found and named in DTC, D.1.21 f.31, but where pitches for the bottom three strings are not provided and in music where those bottom strings are not utilized. The name, however, suggests a precise tuning that would result in low G’ on the bottom and this tuning therefore possesses the largest interval between outer strings of all lyra tunings. (see Traficante, All Ways, op. cit., 204) Praetorius illustrates the bottom note as A’, but if English practice were to be

Praetorius's discussion of an English addition of sympathetic strings to a viol is additionally credible, since this feature is associated both with the lyra viol and the baryton, and thought to trace to England at exactly this period<sup>83</sup>. Yet a discussion of sympathetic string usage on viols would hardly be considered relevant for *continental* instruments, especially in the 35 years or more of *bastarda* history prior to Praetorius's document. So while it is certainly possible that sympathetic strings were used by some English viol players, and perhaps even for playing some of the *viola bastarda* repertoire, there is little reasonable basis for argument that this specialized English element was actually typical of the much larger community of practitioners on the continent, where the creation and realization of the *viola bastarda* repertoire was centred. For all of the reasons stated above, I am wholeheartedly in agreement with Paras,<sup>84</sup> that Praetorius confused features and terminology, by describing details of the lyra viol under the *viola bastarda* heading.

If most of the early *bastarda* materials were Italianate, and for its first 20 years the lyra viol was primarily English, is it too far fetched to speculate that these genres were relatively 'foreign' and 'exotic' to Praetorius and that he may have had little firsthand experience with either one? There was tremendous religious upheaval and discord at the time and region when Praetorius was compiling his material. And Praetorius himself was Protestant, while the assessed *bastarda* materials are associated almost exclusively with Catholic sources. This could potentially explain the disconnect. Frankly, the only other problematic *bastarda* materials also come from Lutheran sources. In the *Compendium Musices Latino-Germanicum* (Frankfurt, 1660), Laurentius Erhard says: 'Viola da gamba is a *Geygen* with six strings and frets/like a lute/held between the legs/is also called *viola bastarda*/because one has all the voices equal to the lute/may be heard with wonderment in a special way and with *scordatura*.'<sup>85</sup> There are no additional materials to confirm if this was his own experience of the instrument/genre; it is entirely possible that he simply modelled his description on what he read in Praetorius. Lastly, the anomalous Germanic work in tablature, 'Höchlich werde gezwungen ich' that was seen earlier, is entirely a chordal accompaniment to a German Lutheran chorale tune. Little is known about the exact provenance or date of this manuscript, but its very nature reveals its Protestant origins.<sup>86</sup> Praetorius, Erhard and the unknown author of 'Höchlich' are only writers whose accounts of the *viola bastarda* do not easily accord with the rest of the Italian and northern evidence. They are also the only authors with distinct

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observed, then this final *scordatura* would actually meet the range requirements necessary for the *bastarda* music with an extremely low compass. However, as stated above, for a number of reasons, I do not personally believe that *scordatura* were 'commonly' used for the *bastarda* repertoire.

<sup>83</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that the baryton has English and German roots dating to Praetorius' time, however, no evidence for it is found in the sixteenth century, nor in Italy. For the most thorough and recent research regarding the early history of the baryton, see R. Durkin, 'A Barretone, an Instrument of Musike: its History, Influences and Development pre-1750', *GSIJ* 67 (2014).

<sup>84</sup> Paras, *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>85</sup> Modified translation based on B. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 14.

<sup>86</sup> It also has much in common with at least 75 other lyra viol settings of psalms and Lutheran chorales that may be found in continental sources dating from the mid- and late-1600s where the *bastarda* terminology does not appear.

Protestant affiliations. If the *bastarda* genre originated in Italy and made its way north via Catholic and counter-reformative musicians and communities, then the separate religious and cultural milieu for Praetorius, Erhard and the anon author of 'Höchlich' perhaps offers a reasonable and logical explanation of the discrepancy between their understanding of the term and what is found elsewhere. Either their personal experience of the term/genre was different from everyone else, or the genre was relatively unfamiliar to them and they described it inaccurately. Either way, their information should be assessed carefully and cautiously, since it does not accord easily with what is found elsewhere, and from a much larger number of sources.

For the sake of thoroughness, two final Germanic literary references should be mentioned, and these connect much more readily to the repertoire and communities assessed earlier. Orazio Sega was employed as a string player at the imperial court of Ferdinand II. His last will and testament dated 30 November 1626 bequeathed to his patron his '*violetta, viola bastarda, auletti, a theorbo and a lute*'.<sup>87</sup> Sega died long before Valentini's 'In te Domine speravi' was copied into manuscript, but the fact that he is documented as a *viola bastarda* player who served at the Imperial court confirms that the genre was known there as much as several decades before Valentini's work was produced. And in 1638, an inventory of possessions belonging to Johann Georg Beck lists many musical instruments, including a *viola da gamba* and a '*kleine viola da gamba*' plus four volumes of music specifically for *viola bastarda*.<sup>88</sup> Beck's name is signed at the back of Breslau 113, a manuscript that mostly comprises handwritten portions of Rognioni's 1620 treatise.<sup>89</sup> He is also believed to have been the original owner of Breslau 114, and possibly also Breslau 111, so a direct connection to Jarzębski and Rognoni and Sigismund III may be inferred.

### Redefining the *viola bastarda*

Having now examined all historical sources that are currently known to employ or describe the *bastarda* term, the features that were observed to be associated with this genre are coherent enough to formalize into the following definition:

- 1) *Bastarda* refers to a style of composition in which a bass instrument or voice is called upon to step outside its usual accompanying role, taking on a purely melodic function. The exact compositional style and form may closely resemble that of many other repertoires, but *bastarda* music is

<sup>87</sup> Sega's will is at WSLA, *Alte Ziviljustiz Testamente* 4807/17. Jahrhundert, quoted in S. Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre, Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 30.

<sup>88</sup> The *viola bastarda*-related items are: '#2: 1 *viola da gamba mit 1 futer*, #3: 1 *kleine ditto*, #166: 2 *Viola Bastardbuch geschrieben*, #167: 1 *dito buch mit noten, darinnen etliche galliard, paduanen etc. geschrieben*, #168: *Ein Viola Bastardbuch*.' This manuscript did not survive the war, but its contents were copied and are detailed in B. P. Brooks, 'The Emergence of the Violin as a Solo Instrument in Seventeenth-Century Germany' Ph.D. dissertation (Cornell University, 2002), 278.

<sup>89</sup> Though Breslau 111 (Jarzębski), 112 (the anon. Sinfonia a 4), 113 (Rognoni), 114 (anon 'Anchor' and *Fantasia in Bastart*) and 115 (with an anonymous bass setting of divisions on 'Susanne un jour') are not in the same hand and likely date from quite different periods, the fact that they all contain music for *viola bastarda* is a provocative connection. Unfortunately, no study has yet been done to determine the precise provenance for these materials.

distinguishable because it necessitates a bass instrument and specifically because it features that bass in an exclusively melodic capacity.

2) *Bastarda* writing refers to a through-composed, non-chordal, linear style of high art music that is typically quite ornate. It often pushes beyond a conservative accompanying 'bass range' boundary, exploiting tenor and even sometimes alto and treble territory.

3) The *bastarda* style would seem to have originated in mid-sixteenth century Italy and for approximately a century was cultivated by Italian musicians, but also in extra-Italian regions, and especially Catholic, Jesuit and counter-reformative ones, where Italian and southern trends were perpetuated even after Italian tastes and practices themselves had evolved to newer forms.

4) Elements generally associated with the *seconda prattica* such as *continuo* bass accompaniment and use of larger ensembles that paired multiple melodic instruments may be found through the history of the genre, even well back in the sixteenth century. Some sources provide an accompanying line, while others do not. There is however some historical justification for creating an accompaniment even if one is not formally provided. Several writers (Ortiz and Bassano) expressed preference for the harpsichord as a means of accompaniment, but no single medium was prescribed.

5) The *bastarda* term was applied to music for a bowed bass (*viola bastarda*) and for trombone (*trombone bastarda*). The term '*alla bastarda*' also appeared in reference to the style for a bass voice (*basso alla bastarda*). There is a single piece for lute, '*a modo di Viola bastarda*.' Hard evidence for other instruments to which these terms were formally appended is minimal, if non-existent.

6) *Viola bastarda* music is for an unspecified bowed bass instrument. Nominally, some fits a bass viol or cello or bass violin (and any number of other specialist tunings/types), but other pieces exhibit an extremely low range that suggests a larger member of the gamba family (the G or A violone) may have been a common choice. *Trombone bastarda* music requires a tenor or bass member of that family and perhaps for technical reasons may be observed to be somewhat less ornate than that specifically for the *viola bastarda*. *Basso alla bastarda* vocal music requires a singer to sing in falsetto as well as in the extreme low bass register; some vocal pieces exploit an *ambitus* of close to three octaves.

7) No matter whether *bastarda* style pieces were improvised or realized from a notated score (at notated pitch or in transposition), the style of composition was based on careful and learned craftsmanship and its performance was the purview of highly skilled specialists. Women and members of the nobility are documented to have performed these works, as well as men. The sophisticated level of composition and the extreme virtuosity required to bring the music to life would imply these works were intended specifically for public presentation.

8) The compositional forms around which *bastarda* music was crafted are varied, but are generally characteristic of their time and region; specific

compositional and structural features are therefore not unique to the genre, or primary elements for its classification as part of the genre. *Bastarda* composers adopted and adapted forms that were also common for solo/virtuosic treble instruments and/or voices. Though some pieces may be characterized as ornate embellishments of pre-existing vocal polyphony (sometimes embellishing a single line and other times embellishing multiple lines), other pieces were crafted on top of a bass line (whether newly composed or a pre-existing ground or cantus firmus) or created as entirely new, free-form, linear, though-composed works.

9) A *bastarda* instrument or voice might be presented in a ‘soloist’ context, as a virtuosic melodic line, performed with or without accompaniment. However, a *bastarda* instrument or voice could also be incorporated as part of a larger ensemble, where it was sometimes counterbalanced by additional virtuosic melodic lines. In this setting, the *bastarda* line might be likened to an ‘*obbligato*’ part, though that particular term does not appear in this repertoire.

10) Appearance of the term *bastarda* begins to wane in notated sources after the second decade of the seventeenth century and disappears approximately mid-century. Perhaps by that time the term had become redundant, since melodic basses were anything but unusual. However, at the time the term was waning, new designations, such as ‘division viol’ and ‘*basso obbligato*’ start to come into use, representing repertoires that would seem to be similar, if not related. Later soloistic linear bass repertoires bear features strikingly similar to the earlier *bastarda* works, and could be considered its direct descendants.

## Conclusions:

With these specific parameters established as a definition for the *viola bastarda*, it is now possible to consider adding many additional works to the list, even if that specific terminology does not appear in the original source. To begin, this would re-validate the items from the Paras anthology that were initially excluded from study. The goal now is not to set an all-encompassing roster of works (which will surely continue to grow now that the definition has been broadened), but to mention a few noteworthy items that are unknown, previously overlooked, or that I believe merit extra comment.

For a solo instrument, decorating a pre-existing polyphonic work there are settings in the Paras anthology by Aurelio Virgiliano, Giovanni de Macque, Orazio Bassani (though all were notated by his nephew Francesco Maria Bassani), Angelo Notari (published in London) and the bassoonist Bartolomeo de Selma y Salaverde. There is additionally an ensemble setting of ‘Vestiva’ by Selma that was not included by Paras. To these may be added new pieces from outside of Italy: an anonymous setting of ‘More Palatino’ in Breslau 114, an anonymous setting of ‘Susanne de Orlando’ in Breslau 115 and six works found in an English source, the Merro Partbooks, Ob Mss Mus. Sch. D.246 and D.247.<sup>90</sup> Some of the *bastarda* English pieces may have been composed by

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<sup>90</sup> A. Ashbee, ‘John Merro’s Manuscripts Revisited.’ *VdGS Journal* (GB) 7 (2013).

Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger. ‘Alfonso’ is named once on D.246, pp. 256-8 as the composer of an untitled piece. Two others are those based on Palestrina’s ‘Sound Out My Voice’ (an English *contrafactum* of his ‘Vestiva I colli’) and Ferrabosco the elder’s ‘Vidi pianger Madonna’.<sup>91</sup> A fourth is based on Thomas Tallis’s ‘O sacrum convivium’, and this and the untitled piece are re-copied in tablature as Merro’s final contribution to the collection in D.247, ff. 67v-71. Other than the usual crop of copying errors to which Merro was prone, staff and tablature versions are identical. Comparison of the two versions will perhaps offer some insight for *viola bastarda* performance practice issues, such as fingerings, that are until now otherwise entirely speculative. And with the perspective that linear music for a normal-tuned viol may in fact occasionally be notated in tablature, there may be additional English materials and works that may now be viewed and classified as part of this genre.

Moving to non-polyphonic based instrumental repertoire for solo instrument without accompaniment, there are three simple fantasias (one necessitating a G violone), two ornate *ricercars* and an *Alamanta* in Breslau 114 and an anonymous Fantasia that appears both in Ob Mss Mus. Sch. D.246 and Breslau 114 (yet another English connection). For *bastarda* with accompaniment, one could now include the two *toccate* by Orazio Bassani (one necessitates an A violone), four fantasias (3 *a basso solo* and one for bassoon) by Selma, and many *canzoni*, including *La Hieronyma (per trombone o viola)* by Giovanni Martino Cesare and seven titled *canzoni ‘a basso solo’* by Girolamo Frescobaldi. And in the category of non-polyphonic based music for an ensemble one finds two duo sonatas by Giovanni Paolo Cima (one for *violone e violino* and the other for *cornetto e trombone overo violino e violone*), a trio sonata by G. P. Cima (*per violino, cornetto e violone*) and a *sonata a quattro* by Andrea Cima (*per violino, violone, cornetto e trombone*), six titled *canzoni* with a melodic bass parts by Jarzębski, four *canzoni a due bassi* by Frescobaldi, and nineteen *canzoni* and dance movements for two instruments (mostly for *basso e soprano*) by Selma.

There are surely many other pieces to be added now that the subject has been clarified, defined and expanded. But if one takes Ortiz’s 25 bass pieces as a starting point and adds the approximately 70 instrumental works just mentioned, plus the more than 30 virtuosic vocal pieces that were described earlier, and joins them all with the 60 pieces that were initially assessed bearing clear specifications, the ‘*bastarda*’ repertoire starts to reflect genuine substance and credibility. Its origins may be firmly traced to Italy, but the genre went on to have an impact and influence that extended to northern regions and England, with documentation spanning approximately the century, 1550-1650. The instrumental portion of this repertoire need not be viewed as specifically viol-centric; as well as trombone, it is seemingly appropriate for members of the violin family, and perhaps even forms of the early bassoon (considering that Selma was himself a bassoonist, several of the other documented

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<sup>91</sup> See the VdGS Thematic Index at [www.vdgs.org.uk/thematic.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/thematic.html) - Italian madrigals/Ferrabosco I for sources of ‘Vidi pianger Madonna’)

<sup>93</sup> There is some ornate, linear music notated in tablature currently assigned a lyra viol label, and some of it exploits quite an impressive *ambitus*. This area would seem worthy of more investigation. I am very grateful to Peter Adams for sharing some of his findings on this subject.

composers were wind specialists and there is an incredibly challenging set of bassoon variations in the *bastarda* style based on *La monica* by Philipp Friedrich Böddecker, 1651). The ornate, linear style of writing seems to have remained fairly distinct and separate from the chordal, self-accompanying style that was created to highlight the personalities of various *scordatura* that define the lyra viol repertoire<sup>93</sup>. Application of the *bastarda* term would seem to have come about because it was initially unusual for a bass instrument to take on a purely melodic role in high art music, playing a linear, through-composed line in a 'soloistic' capacity. But just as that role and style of writing became more and more common, use of the *bastarda* term seems to have waned. It is only the application of this particular term that seems to have declined. Seemingly obvious offshoots of the *bastarda* genre are a great many Germanic works, especially religious music from the imperial court, that require 'obbligato' basses (usually bass viols), the Italianate solo and chamber works starting c1660 for a modernized form of the cello, and all manner of English compositions for 'division viols' (the term is said to have first been employed by William Lawes in his pieces for two bass viols and organ<sup>94</sup>). These subjects may all be explored in much greater detail now that parentage and progeny of the *viola bastarda* have been elucidated, and its features are no longer spurious.

## Appendix:

### Bibliographic citations for all works cited in the Tables 1, 2, 3:

#### Table 1a and 1b:

- Girolamo Dalla Casa *Il vero modo di diminuir, libri I et II* (Venice, 1584).  
various authors *Intermedii et concerti fatti... nelle nozze [Florence 1589] del Serenissimo Don Fernando Medici e Madama Christiana di Loreno* (Venice, 1591).  
Richardo Rogniono *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire terminatamente con ogni sorte di instrumenti, et anco diversi passaggi per la semplice voce humana* (Venice, 1592).  
Aurelio Virgiliano *Il Dolcimelo*: manuscript: I-Bc Ms. C.33, c1600.  
Orazio Bassani, pieces in the 'Rossi manuscript': GB-Lbl Add. Ms. 30491, c1617.  
Francesco Rognoni *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno per cantare e suonare con ogni sorte de stromenti* (Milan, 1620).  
Vincenzo Bonizzi *Alcune opere di diversi auttori a diversi voci, passagiate principalmente per la viola bastarda, ma anche per ogni sorte di stromenti, e di voci* (Venice, 1626).  
Adam Jarzębski *Canzoni e concerti a 2, 3, 4 strumenti*, manuscript: D-Bsb Mus. Ms. Sammlung Bohn 111 (formerly Breslau 111), 1627.  
D-Bsb Mus. Ms. Sammlung Bohn 114 (formerly Breslau 114), c1630s.  
Giovanni Valentini *In te Domine, speravi*, manuscript: D-Kl, Ms. 2° Mus. 51o, c1649.  
Benedikt Lechler *Laudibus cives resonent* and *Ad caenam agni providi*, manuscript: A-KR L12, c1649.  
D-Bsb Mus. Ms. Sammlung Bohn 112 (formerly Breslau 112), c1660.  
Darmstadt/Tappert manuscript: details otherwise unknown except for internet reference: <http://www.arcimboldo.ch/cantar-alla-viola/8.Ausblick.htm>

#### Table 2:

- Giovanni Antonio Terzi *Il secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto* (Venice 1599).  
Adriano Banchieri *La pazzia senile: ragionamenti vaghi, et dilettevoli ... libro II* (Venice, 1598)

<sup>94</sup> A. Otterstedt, op. cit., 328.



Adriano Banchieri *Virtuoso ridotto tra signori, e dame...una nuova comedia detta Prudenza giovenile, 5° libro degli terzetti, op.15* (Milan, 1607).  
 Bartolomeo Barbarino *Il terzo libro de madrigali* (Venice, 1610).  
 Giulio Santo Pietro de Negri *Grazie ed affetti di musica moderna, op.5* (Milan, 1613).  
 Francesco Rognoni *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno per cantare e suonare con ogni sorte de stromenti* (Milan, 1620).  
 P.A. Mariani, in Carlo Milanuzzi *Armonia sacra di concerti, messa et canzoni* (Venice, 1622).  
 Giovanni Felice Sances *Nel Regno d'amore*, manuscript: D-Kl, Ms. 2° Mus. 57m, c1650.

### **Table 3:**

Giovanni Bassano *Motetti, madrigali et canzone francese di diversi eccellenti autori* (Venice 1591).  
 Giulio Caccini *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601/2).  
 Bartolomeo Barbarino *Madrigali di diversi autori* (Venice, 1606).  
 Bartolomeo Barbarino *Il secondo libro de madrigali...con un dialogo di Anima e Caronte* (Venice, 1607).  
 Claudio Monteverdi *L'Orfeo, favola in musica* (Mantua, 1607).  
 Angelo Notari *Prime musiche nuove* (London, 1613).  
 Giovanni Ghizzolo *Il terzo libro delli madrigali, scherzi et arie, op.9* (Milan, 1613).  
 Giulio Caccini *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence, 1614).  
 Giovanni Domenico Puliaschi *Gemma musicale*, republished as *Musiche varie* (Rome, 1618).  
 Francesco Rognoni *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno per cantare e suonare con ogni sorte de stromenti* (Milan, 1620).  
 Benedetto Ferrari *Musiche varie* (Venice, 1633).

### **Score References:**

This article referenced original source materials in Table 1 and Table 2 that bear either a '*viola bastarda*' or an '*alla bastarda*' descriptor. Some of those materials are readily available in the Paras anthology (where the original clefs and barring are retained), and several of the original printed editions are also available online, in facsimile form. The relevant items in Paras are listed below, on the assumption that interested individuals will already have (or be able to obtain) their own copy of that publication. Anything that is available in facsimile online is also listed, with a link.

Many additional materials, however, have until now not been easily accessible to the general public. Modern transcriptions of these other works have been prepared (again retaining original clefs and details) and uploaded to [imslp.org](http://imslp.org), with individual links provided.

### ***Viola Bastarda* materials contained in the Paras anthology:**

- Dalla Casa (the ten pieces discussed)
- Rogniono (the four pieces discussed)
- Virgiliano (the two pieces discussed)
- Bassani (the two pieces discussed)
- Rognoni (the three pieces and 33 examples discussed)
- Bonizzi (the nine pieces discussed)

### Electronic links to facsimiles:

Girolamo Dalla Casa *Il vero modo di diminuir* (Venice, 1584):

[http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Il\\_vero\\_modo\\_di\\_diminuir\\_\(Dalla\\_Casa,\\_Girolamo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Il_vero_modo_di_diminuir_(Dalla_Casa,_Girolamo))

Luca Marenzio and Cristofano Malvezzi *Intermedii et concerti* (Venice, 1591):

[http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Intermedii\\_et\\_concerti\\_\(Vincenti,\\_Giacomo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Intermedii_et_concerti_(Vincenti,_Giacomo))

Richardo Rogniono *Passaggi per potersi essercitare* (Venice, 1594):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Il\\_vero\\_modo\\_di\\_diminuire\\_\(Rognoni,\\_Riccardo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Il_vero_modo_di_diminuire_(Rognoni,_Riccardo))

Aurelio Virgiliano *Il Dolcimelo* (manuscript from I-Bc, c1600):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Il\\_Dolcimelo\\_\(Virgiliano,\\_Aurelio\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Il_Dolcimelo_(Virgiliano,_Aurelio))

Giovanni Valentini *In te Domine speravi* (manuscript from D-Kl, c1649):

[http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1399889043738/1/LOG\\_0000/](http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1399889043738/1/LOG_0000/)

Giovanni Felice Sances *Nel Regno d'amore* (manuscript from D-Kl, c1650):

[http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1401694023579/1/LOG\\_0000/](http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1401694023579/1/LOG_0000/)

anon *Höchlich werde gezwungen ich* (details unknown):

[www.arcimboldo.ch/cantar-alla-viola/8.Ausblick.htm](http://www.arcimboldo.ch/cantar-alla-viola/8.Ausblick.htm)

Giovanni Bassano *Motetti, madrigali et canzone francese* (Chrysander copy, based on Venice, 1591):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Motetti,\\_madrigali\\_et\\_canzone\\_francese\\_\(Bassano,\\_Giovanni\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Motetti,_madrigali_et_canzone_francese_(Bassano,_Giovanni))

Giulio Caccini *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Le\\_nuove\\_musiche\\_\(Caccini,\\_Giulio\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Le_nuove_musiche_(Caccini,_Giulio))

Angelo Notari *Prime musiche nuove* (London, 1613):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Primo\\_Musiche\\_Nuove\\_\(Notari,\\_Angelo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Primo_Musiche_Nuove_(Notari,_Angelo))

Giovanni Antonio Terzi *Chi farà fede al ciel*

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Chi\\_farà\\_fede\\_al\\_ciel\\_\(Terzi,\\_Giovanni\\_Antonio\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Chi_farà_fede_al_ciel_(Terzi,_Giovanni_Antonio))

### Electronic links to modern editions (retaining original clefs and details):

#### Pieces for *viola bastarda*:

Luca Marenzio – Sinfonia from the Secondo Intermedio (Florence/Venice, 1589/1591):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia\\_\(Marenzio,\\_Luca\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia_(Marenzio,_Luca))

Cristofano Malvezzi – Sinfonia from the Quarto Intermedio (Florence/Venice, 1589/1591):

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia\\_from\\_Intermedio\\_4\\_\(Malvezzi,\\_Cristofano\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia_from_Intermedio_4_(Malvezzi,_Cristofano))

Adam Jarzębski – Concerto terzo:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Concerto\\_terzo\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Concerto_terzo_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Diligam te Domine:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Diligam\\_te\\_Domine\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Diligam_te_Domine_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Cantate Domino:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Cantate\\_Domino\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Cantate_Domino_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Secunda pars:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Secunda\\_pars\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Secunda_pars_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – In Deo speravit:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/In\\_Deo\\_speravit\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/In_Deo_speravit_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – In te Domine, speravi:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/In\\_te\\_Domine\\_speravi\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/In_te_Domine_speravi_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Susanna videns:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Susanna\\_videns\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Susanna_videns_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Venite exultemus:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Venite\\_exultemus\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Venite_exultemus_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Cantate Joh. Gabielis:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Cantate\\_Joh.\\_Gabrielis\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Cantate_Joh._Gabrielis_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Corona aurea:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Corona\\_aurea\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Corona_aurea_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Küstrinella:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Küstrinella\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Küstrinella_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Tamburetta:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Tamburetta\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Tamburetta_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Adam Jarzębski – Norimberga:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Norimberga\\_\(Jarzębski,\\_Adam\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Norimberga_(Jarzębski,_Adam))

Giovanni Valentini – In te Domine speravi:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/In\\_te\\_Domine\\_speravi\\_\(Valentini,\\_Giovanni\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/In_te_Domine_speravi_(Valentini,_Giovanni))

Lechler, Benedikt – Laudibus cives resonent:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Laudibus\\_cives\\_resonent\\_\(Lechler,\\_Benedikt\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Laudibus_cives_resonent_(Lechler,_Benedikt))

Lechler, Benedikt – Ad caenam agni providi:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Ad\\_caenam\\_agni\\_providi\\_\(Lechler,\\_Benedikt\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Ad_caenam_agni_providi_(Lechler,_Benedikt))

anon – D-Bsb Mus. Ms. Sammlung Bohn 114 (formerly Breslau 114) – 2 pieces:  
 Anchor che col Partire:  
[http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Anchor\\_che\\_col\\_Partire\\_\(Anonymous\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Anchor_che_col_Partire_(Anonymous))  
 #IMSLP341761

Fantasia in Bastart:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Fantasia\\_in\\_Bastart\\_\(Anonymous\)#IMSLP341762](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Fantasia_in_Bastart_(Anonymous)#IMSLP341762)

anon – Sinfonia #3 a 4 – D-Bsb Mus. Ms. Sammlung Bohn 112 (formerly Breslau 112):  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia\\_3\\_a\\_4\\_\(Anonymous\)#IMSLP341763](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Sinfonia_3_a_4_(Anonymous)#IMSLP341763)

### **Pieces for voices/instruments *alla bastarda*:**

Bartolomeo Barbarino – Scioglio ardito nocchier:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Scioglio\\_ardito\\_nocchier\\_vela\\_d'argento\\_\(Barbarino,\\_Bartolomeo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Scioglio_ardito_nocchier_vela_d'argento_(Barbarino,_Bartolomeo))

Giulio Santo Pietro de Negri – Ch'io t'ami e invochi:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Ch'io\\_t'ami\\_e\\_invochi\\_\(Negri,\\_Giulio\\_Santo\\_Pietro\\_de\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Ch'io_t'ami_e_invochi_(Negri,_Giulio_Santo_Pietro_de))

Giulio Santo Pietro de Negri – Pasciti pur del core:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Pasciti\\_pur\\_del\\_core\\_\(Negri,\\_Giulio\\_Santo\\_Pietro\\_de\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Pasciti_pur_del_core_(Negri,_Giulio_Santo_Pietro_de))

Francesco Rognioni – Pulchra es anima mea:  
[www.imslp.org/wiki/Pulchra\\_es\\_anima\\_mea\\_\(Rognioni\\_Taeggio,\\_Francesco\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Pulchra_es_anima_mea_(Rognioni_Taeggio,_Francesco))

Francesco Rognioni – 33 Esempi per sonar alla bastarda:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Essempi\\_per\\_Sonar\\_alla\\_Bastarda\\_\(Rognoni\\_Taeggio,\\_Francesco\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Essempi_per_Sonar_alla_Bastarda_(Rognoni_Taeggio,_Francesco))

P.A. Mariani – La Guaralda:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/La\\_Guaralda\\_\(Mariani,\\_P.A.\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/La_Guaralda_(Mariani,_P.A.))

Giovanni Felice Sances – Nel Regno d'amore:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Nel\\_regno\\_d'amore\\_\(Sances,\\_Giovanni\\_Felice\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Nel_regno_d'amore_(Sances,_Giovanni_Felice))

Angelo Notari – Ben qui si mostra il ciel:

[www.imslp.org/wiki/Ben\\_qui\\_si\\_mostra\\_il\\_ciel\\_\(Notari,\\_Angelo\)](http://www.imslp.org/wiki/Ben_qui_si_mostra_il_ciel_(Notari,_Angelo))

# A time when all was Abelish

THOMAS FRITZSCH

*Translation: Janet and Michael Berridge*

**Abel.** There was a time, and it is not so long ago, when Abel set the tone for the musical world; — when all was Abelish; ... As long as it takes until Gellert is classical in nova Zembla<sup>1</sup>, Abel will remain agreeable, a sweet singer, — singer, — whose good, gentle heart you can find in almost every note; — who draws us to him with a secret sympathy, which he knows how to place in each of his works. ... In my view it is very much to the honour of Britain's Queen, that she knew the worth of her gambist; and — knows it still. All in all, the feeling produced by Abel's works, is like the feeling of a bright day, and springtime feeling, that of a frank, free soul; ... Abel's works often have the stamp of English air and soil on them, — often striking, — often almost imperceptible. Fräulein von Sternheim<sup>2</sup> would say, 'a breath of gentle melancholy has touched him'; — a breath in which she seeks something that determines the national Character, at least for the quintessence of goodness, — 'which governs the best souls of the British world, and overspreads the vivid colours of the Character as if with a fine perfume.' — ... Sensibility of heart determines the choice of instrument, (certain determinate years of the young man, and natural impulse being allowed for,) the nature of the instrument determines the choice of piece, theme, mood, as does the heart: — Abel's is good, full of feeling; Viola di Gamba is suited to every fine, detailed, lasting sentiment; let us then declare ourselves for Abel's Adagio (up to Lamentoso, and down to Moderato); — and yet grant his Allegro to be full of Vigour, Flood, Fire, Storm and cooling Zephyr Nature, Beauty and Truth.<sup>3</sup>

The graphic depiction of the musical aesthetics and character of Carl Friedrich Abel placed by music commentator and composer Carl Ludwig Junker at the front of a book of portraits of twenty composers published in 1776 may be exceptional in form, but in its praise of the great Abel it conforms with the opinion of his contemporaries, who describe Abel's command of the viola da gamba as in every respect consummate and flawless. Among Abel's greatest admirers was that doyen of music criticism, the English scholar Dr Charles Burney (1726-1814), who nurtured no sympathy for the viola da gamba: 'The tones of the viol da gamba are radically so crude and nasal, that nothing but the greatest skill and refinement can make them bearable.' Of Abel, however, he wrote: 'He had a hand which no difficulties could embarrass; a taste the most refined and delicate; and a judgment so correct and certain, as never to let

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<sup>1</sup> Russian archipelago in the Arctic (Novaya Zemlya, "New Land")

<sup>2</sup> The sentimental epistolary novel "The Story of Fräulein von Sternheim" by Sophie von La Roche was published in Leipzig in 1771.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Ludwig Junker, *Zwanzig Componisten / eine Skizze*, Bern 1776, 1 ff.

a single note escape him without meaning.”<sup>4</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s praise of 1796 was even more generous:

The Gamba is made by him to be all that of which it was capable, and because he never demanded of it anything that was against its nature, his compositions for this agreeable instrument and his exceptionally sweet playing of it acquired a pure and perfect character, which might hardly be surpassed in sweetness and touching amiability.<sup>5</sup>

New Year’s Day 1782 marked the start of a new phase in the life of Carl Friedrich Abel. Johann Christian Bach departed this life at the early age of forty-six, and scarcely had the announcement of his death in St Marylebone Parish spread across London than Bach’s creditors burst into the dead man’s room and could only with difficulty be restrained. Otherwise Bach’s cadaver would have been sold for anatomical study, in order to settle at least a part of his debts. The news of Bach’s unforeseen death struck his closest friends, Abel and the painter Thomas Gainsborough, like a bolt from the blue. It not only put paid to plans for a continuation of the concert series hitherto organized by Bach and Abel; it must also have brought home to Abel, who by 1782 was already a sick man and a heavy drinker, the imminence of his own death. Those who can empathize with Abel and the state of his life will be able to imagine his despair. It was forty-five years—according to Carl Friedrich Cramer<sup>6</sup>—since he had seen his older brother and next of kin Leopold August Abel (1718-1794). Abel saw out the 1782 concert season and then left London. ‘He had stayed here without a break till 1782, in which year the desire to see once again his brother and his fatherland drew him to Germany,’ reports Ernst Ludwig Gerber<sup>7</sup>, and Schilling’s *Universal Lexicon of Music* adds: ‘In 1782 a kind of homesickness drove him back to Germany.’<sup>8</sup> Abel had another good reason to get away from London for a while: he was deep in debt, and the creditors round Bach’s deathbed had shown no pity. A letter of April 1783 reads:

... Herr Abel and Sacchini have been denied us, at least for some time, on account of their debts. Neither of these two excellent musicians knows how to practise economy, nor do they show due care in managing money. That shows us that such talented enthusiasts should be protected and maintained by princes, who would free them, as beings of a higher order, from the sordid business of making a living.<sup>9</sup>

Abel’s journeyings to and through Germany are not well documented. We know he stayed in Potsdam and Berlin with Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, the later King Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744-1797), for several weeks at a time. Friedrich Wilhelm, a keen student of both the gamba and the cello

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 4, London 1789, p. 678. – Citations from English sources are given in quotation marks without italics. (Translators’ note)

<sup>5</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalischer Almanach*, Berlin 1796, IV. A.

<sup>6</sup> Carl Friedrich Cramer, *Magazin der Musik, Erster Jahrgang*, Hamburg 1783, 179

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler, 1. Theil*, Leipzig 1790, col. 4

<sup>8</sup> Gustav Schilling, *Encyclopädie der gesammelten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst, Erster Band*, Stuttgart 1835, 16

<sup>9</sup> Cramer, *op. cit.*, 554

who had his own private orchestra, proved himself to be an admirer of Abel's abilities and amply rewarded him for his skill. The compositions by Abel in the Royal Library of the House of Hohenzollern are the fruits of his stay, or perhaps gifts to his host. Leaving Berlin, Abel continued to Ludwigslust, where 'he arrived with nothing but his instrument and the most needful clothing, because he travels light, and hastens, so as to be in London again at the end of November [1782].'<sup>10</sup> His reunion with his brother Leopold August – their first meeting since childhood, and their last – was the main reason for his journey. Despite the haste with which Abel set out on his return journey to London, he evidently did not arrive there till the autumn of 1784. It appears that it was not music that had delayed him but his advanced alcoholism. Schilling and Gerber comment thus on the end of Abel's German tour: 'Some years later, though, he returned by way of Paris to London on account of his truly wretched circumstances.'<sup>11</sup> Likewise: 'A few years thereafter he spent some time in Paris on account of his ruinous state of health.'<sup>12</sup> After weeks of excessive drinking in Potsdam and Berlin, about which Reichardt's *Musical Almanac* gives copious information<sup>13</sup>, Abel's physical collapse was inevitable. His health was ruined; Abel's life drew to its close.

The horrifying extent to which sickness was attacking Abel's body is clearly shown by the two portraits in oils painted only three years apart from one another by Thomas Gainsborough in 1777 and Charles Jean Robineau in 1780. In contrast to the earlier picture, Robineau shows Abel looking many years older, his face pinched, deep rings round his eyes, cheeks and nose unnaturally inflamed, and his once white hair now a drab grey. The once 'tall, big, portly person with a dry humour' described by Henry Angelo (1756-1835)<sup>14</sup> had dwindled to a bowed, sickly old man with a pendulous paunch. The faithfulness of Robineau's portrait can be judged by comparison with a drawing of Abel from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's collection, done in chalk by Ernst Heinrich Abel (1730?/1737-?) in 1786.

Contemporary accounts of Abel, as a gamba-playing Bacchus who had only to be given a previously tuned instrument to soar to the heights of vinous virtuosity, have often been greeted with amusement while the true tragedy of Abel's dependence on alcohol has been overlooked. I am moved by the stark contrast between the human misery of Abel's state as it is depicted to us, and the immeasurable profundity and beauty of the music he composed at that very time.

Alcoholism had reached epidemic proportions in 18th-century England, and immoderate consumption of gin was ruining a whole nation. The squandering of grain on distilling of spirits and feeding the horses of the well-to-do led to a scarcity of wheat and to consequent high prices of food. Those who had succumbed to gin fell into poverty and could no longer afford to eat, driving the price of bread higher with every glass of gin they drank. Insight into this

<sup>10</sup> Cramer, *op. cit.*, 179

<sup>11</sup> Schilling, *op. cit.*, 16

<sup>12</sup> Gerber, *op. cit.*, col. 4

<sup>13</sup> Reichardt, *op. cit.*, IV. A.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, vol. 1, London 1830, 65

chain of circumstances is provided by evangelist John Wesley (1703-1791), joint founder of Methodism and a tireless campaigner against alcoholism. What an irony of fate that Abel's last place of residence in St Marylebone Parish was close to that of Wesley! Abel, who had for many years made large libations at the shrine of Bacchus<sup>15</sup>, tipped back vast quantities of the best French red wine day after day. He imported it from Paris, 'where he lived [all summer] as the house guest of a businessman to whom he was teaching the gamba.'<sup>16</sup> Reichardt puts it graphically: 'His drinking was a steady torrent down a smooth surface.'<sup>17</sup> On almost every day on which Abel did not go to a concert, he sat from lunch to midnight among tavern toppers at a table laden with wine bottles. 'Along with the bottles, certain vessels of evacuation were placed in the room, so that he and his fellow-drinkers had no need to leave their haunt, which they would often have found difficult to locate again afterwards.'<sup>18</sup> Abel was evidently a social drinker, and false friends were always to be had. Friedrich Wilhelm provided him with ample supplies of Rhine wine from his cellar while he was staying in Potsdam in 1782, but his enjoyment was not complete unless he had drinking company. When he complained of this on his ensuing visit to Berlin, a local artist took pity on him and organized a three-week pub-crawl through the best hostelrys and wine-cellar of the city, the party moving from one restaurant to the next between dinner and supper each day. It is reported that whereas Abel would remember nothing of his drinking orgies, his improvisation on the gamba 'flowed with lavish breadth and luscious sweetness, ... never richer or more captivating than in these hours.'<sup>19</sup>

By 1782, nevertheless, Abel was suffering from a depressive condition as a psychological concomitant of his alcoholism, and it is revealing that after a night on the drink he saw 'the hostile sober day threatening to appear.'<sup>20</sup> The symptoms of his sickness were now inescapable: alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver with high blood pressure, spider naevi on his face (clearly visible in Robineau's picture) and varicose veins in his gullet.<sup>21</sup> Abel's beetroot-red head, sometimes compared to a brazier full of coals or the sun amid the smoke of war, gave rise to mockery and mischief. One anecdote<sup>22</sup> relates that the actor and playwright Foot in feigned innocence invited the ruddy Abel to step into his garden, to mount the wall of wine and to shine on the grapes, so that they finally would ripen.

Scarcely was he back in London than Abel suffered a haemorrhage in the second half of January 1785,<sup>23</sup> which nearly killed him. Bossler's *Musikalische*

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<sup>15</sup> William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, vol. 1, London 1830, 53

<sup>16</sup> Reichardt, *op. cit.*, IV. A.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, IX. 5.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, IX. 4.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, IX. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, IX. 5.

<sup>21</sup> oesophageal varices

<sup>22</sup> Reichardt, *op. cit.*, IX. 4.

<sup>23</sup> The time frame can be determined from documented concert appearances by Abel.



*Real-Zeitung*<sup>24</sup> reported at length on Abel's *discharge of blood*. Gerber<sup>25</sup> calls it a *deadly spewing of blood*, and Parke<sup>26</sup> indicates that Abel had 'ruptured a small blood vessel'. The distended veins in Abel's oesophagus had burst<sup>27</sup>, Abel lost consciousness from loss of blood, and the violinist Johann Wilhelm Cramer (1746-1799), who had lodged with Abel between 1776 and 1779, found him in bed showing no sign of life. The doctor who was called forbade Abel any further consumption of wine and gave him an undefined 'white medicine. ... Cramer, who was devoted to him with all his heart and soul, fulfilled with the greatest tenderness all the duties of friendship.'<sup>28</sup> Significantly it was Abel's greatest concern that he had to forgo his 'beloved old Hock'.<sup>29</sup> Dissatisfied with the failure of his health to improve, and suffering from withdrawal symptoms, Abel then drank such a large quantity of red wine that he lost his senses and had to be put to bed. To the delight of Cramer, who had believed him dead, Abel woke the next morning with renewed vigour and cried: 'Heavens! as long as my doctor ordered me to drink white medicine: so long was my sputum red. Today, when I have drunk my fill of the red, my sputum is white again. Now then, I will in future use no other doctor than mine host.'<sup>30</sup> Driven by this fateful logic, Abel hastened his own end. As a veteran performer, he made one return to the London concert platform; we find his name one last time among the soloists of the benefit concert for Elizabeth Billington (née Weichsel) on May 21, 1787. Four weeks later, after a heavy drinking session, Abel fell into a three-day coma from which he was not to wake. On the day of Abel's death, June 20, 1787, Thomas Gainsborough wrote this moving letter to Henry Bate-Dudley: 'Poor Abel died about one o'clock today, without pain, after three days sleep. Your regret, I am sure, will follow this loss. We love a genius for what he leaves and we mourn him for what he takes away. If Abel was not so great a man as Handel it was because caprice had ruined music before he ever took up the pen. For my part, I shall never cease looking up to heaven – the little while I have to stay behind – in hopes of getting one more glance of the man I loved from the moment I heard him touch the string. Poor Abel! – 'tis not a week since we were gay together, and that he wrote the sweetest air I have in my collection of his happiest thoughts. My heart is too full to say more'.<sup>31</sup> A few days after Abel's death, an engraving by William Nelson Gardiner was offered for sale by Edward Harding in London's Fleet Street. This keepsake is the last known portrait of Carl Friedrich Abel. The lamentation at his early death that broke out in musical circles across Europe was soon followed by regret at the works thus lost to the world of music. Seven years after Abel's death, the London booksellers Evan and Thomas Williams advertised in *The Morning Herald* of April 3, 1794 the sale of an extensive collection of Abel's manuscripts (some autograph, some prepared by a copyist), including 10

<sup>24</sup> Heinrich Philipp Bossler, *Musikalische Real-Zeitung für das Jahr 1788, Erster Band*, Speier 1788, col. 91-92

<sup>25</sup> Gerber, *op. cit.*, col. 4

<sup>26</sup> Parke, *op. cit.*, 53

<sup>27</sup> haemorrhaging of oesophageal varices

<sup>28</sup> Bossler, *op. cit.*, col. 91-92

<sup>29</sup> dry white Rhine wine

<sup>30</sup> Bossler, *op. cit.*, col. 91-92

<sup>31</sup> Mary Woodall (ed.), *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough*, New York 1961

quartets and 24 trios with viola da gamba, 18 solos for viola da gamba and finally "Ten Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hannover-square Concerts."<sup>32</sup> The last few words suggest inside information. Gerber significantly mentions: "Shortly before his death he played a newly written Solo, which amazed even his warmest admirers."<sup>33</sup>

On May 26, 1994, just two hundred years after the announcement in *The Morning Herald*, Sotheby's auctioned a leather-bound collection of Abel's works for viola da gamba – containing fourteen hitherto unknown works – on behalf of one of the most important private collectors of the present day. In token of our friendship, the collector gave me access three years ago to these forgotten works, for which I am deeply grateful to him. The moment in which I held Abel's original sheets of music in my hands for the first time made a deep impression on me, and as a result of my playing them, Carl Friedrich Abel became a dear and familiar friend.

The previous owner Arthur Frederick Hill (1860-1939), who acquired the collection of four duets for viola da gamba and violoncello and ten sonatas for viola da gamba and basso in 1905, is commemorated by his gummed-in *Ex libris* label. The book in its present form falls into two sections: nos. 1-7 are autograph individual manuscripts of uniform layout, each beginning with a single sheet (right). Continuous sheets, each with a title above the first line of music, are used for nos. 8-10 (in a copyist's hand) and 11-14 (autograph). The end of no. 10 and the beginning of no. 11 cover the front and back sides of a single sheet; the unknown copyist and Abel were evidently working in sequence. It remains unclear in what order and at what interval of time this occurred, as the arranging, binding and subsequent trimming of the manuscripts have effaced potential evidence. All autograph sheets suggest a composition manuscript, the basso line being inserted subsequently to the line for viola da gamba. The cadenzas and fingerings are in Abel's own hand; they were added by him at the time he wrote out each sonata.

The list of additional owners of the MSS provides valuable information. On November 27, 1882, the amateur gambist Edward Payne acquired the fourteen works through auctioneers Puttick & Simpson. Lot 508 was given as: 'Abel (C.F.) Fourteen Duets for Viol da Gamba and Violoncello, written for his pupile, Lord Pembroke. In the Autograph of Abel and unpublished, and has Autograph of Lady Elizabeth Pembroke on fly-leaf, half calf.'<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that the volume is usually described in this manner: bound individual manuscripts (in score form) in half-calf with gold on three sides and additional numbering (1-14). The title embossed in gold on the back cover "DUE'TTO / PER / LA VIOLA / DA GAMBA / AND / VIOLON / CELLO / [MS] / C.F. ABEL" corresponds to the erroneous description of the contents.

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Holman, *Life after Death*, Woodbridge 2010, 202. Williams refers to the *Professional Concerts* in the Hanover Square Rooms.

<sup>33</sup> Gerber, *op. cit.*, col. 4

<sup>34</sup> Holman, *op. cit.*, 216

The first original manuscript page does indeed bear in its top right-hand corner the signature *Eliz: Pembroke*; this page and a flysheet bear the article on *Charles Frederick Abel* from the *Penny Cyclopædia*<sup>35</sup> copied by J. Smith, another former owner. At the other end of the volume Smith inserted a sheet after the last page of music on which he wrote out a further article of unknown provenance headed *Viol da Gamba, Italian (Basse de viole, French) Kniegeige, German*). The heading suggests a knowledge of the instrument. The assertion that the violoncello had completely superseded the viola da gamba and that many fine gambas had been rebuilt as cellos reflects the 19th-century situation. J. Smith dated his signature *April 1873*.

Lady Elizabeth Herbert (née Spencer), Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery (1737-1831), who is named as Abel's pupil, was married to Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke. Lady Pembroke played the gamba and her husband played the cello and bassoon. The spirit of the viola da gamba was in the air of their country seat, Wilton House outside Salisbury: more than a hundred years before, John Coprario and his pupil William Lawes had played there for the 3rd and 4th Earls of Pembroke. Despite the musical atmosphere, it seems the marriage was not a happy one; the grief occasioned by her spouse's numerous affairs was expressed by Elizabeth in the single sentence: 'Husbands are dreadful and powerful Animals!' Maybe Elizabeth found comfort in music and in music-making, and Abel, who had so wonderfully realized the potential of his instrument, gave her of his abundance. Unhappy as the bond between Lord and Lady Pembroke may have been, it is to this connexion that we owe four great, indeed incomparable, duets for viola da gamba and violoncello.

The ten Sonatas for viola da gamba and basso are amazingly modern in comparison to all other gamba works of Abel's that are known to us. Major keys such as E, E-flat, B-flat and A-flat are already unusual in solo works for viola da gamba, as is the frequent transposition of the Adagio movements into the dominant or subdominant key. We always sense Abel's delight in the discovery of strange new tone colours. If the fingerings were not so indisputably in Abel's own hand, we would conclude they were 19th-century additions! They are always clearly recognizable as departures from the conventional techniques; on the one hand, Abel prefers a position of the fingering hand on the fifth, sixth or seventh fret on the top three strings and on the other hand the sliding of a finger under ligatures on one string – playing techniques that we tend to associate with the 19th century. Abel was the first gambist to take full advantage of these options. He may have been inspired to do so during his repeated visits to Paris by a dilettante and patron of music who was a bit of an odd character: Charles Ernest Baron de Bagge (1722-1791). The flautist Jean Gaspard Weiss tells of a meeting with J.C. Bach and Abel in the house of Baron von Bagge in August 1767.<sup>36</sup> The *General German Biography* of 1875 has this curious note:

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<sup>35</sup> Charles Knight (ed.), *The Penny Cyclopædia of The Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge*, vol. 1, London 1833

<sup>36</sup> Jean Gaspard Weiss, *Autobiographie*, Tobias Bonz u. Eliane Michelon (eds.), Beeskow 2012, 57

‘Bagge: Baron Karl Ernst B., royal Prussian chamberlain and whimsical music-lover, lived in Paris about 1782 and died there in 1791. He played the viola badly and the violin even worse, but considered himself a virtuoso of the first rank and claimed to have discovered a completely new method of playing the violin, which is said to have consisted in a slipping up and down the strings with the same finger, without any further fingering. The greatest artists of all nations, among them men like Viotti, had to take lessons with him in order to acquaint themselves with his manner of playing, for which he was rewarded with a Louis d’or for each lesson that they received from him.’<sup>37</sup>

Could Abel have taken one of those lessons in the strange new method? And when might Abel have written the ten Sonatas for viola da gamba and basso? The watermarks of the papers used shed no light on the question. The modernity of the styles and techniques suggests that these are late works of Abel’s. Are these, then, the ‘Ten Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hannover-square Concerts’, which the Williams brothers were offering for sale in 1794? In that case the present ten Sonatas were Abel’s *opus ultimum*, his swan-song! I am inclined to believe so, and the obituary of Abel cut out of the *London Chronicle*<sup>38</sup> and pasted to the fly-leaf of the book is further evidence in support of this.

The instruments heard in our recording<sup>39</sup> may be perceived as witnesses to that lost world: a viola da gamba of 1784 by Johann Casper Göbler and the *Lady Amber* viola da gamba of 1774. The *Lady Amber*, an instrument of the South German or Italian type with projecting edges above and below and f-holes, resembles the instrument with which Thomas Gainsborough portrayed Abel in a chalk sketch of about 1765.<sup>40</sup> The 1805 pianoforte by John Broadwood may be seen as a further link with Abel, who possessed a two-manual harpsichord by Burkat Shudi, the father-in-law of John Broadwood. From 1771 onwards Shudi progressively handed over the firm to Broadwood.

An undated copperplate engraving by Pietro Bettelini (1763-1829) with medallion portraits places Abel in the company of Corelli, Handel, Gluck, Pergolesi, Rameau and Johann Sebastian Bach in an allegorical composers’ pantheon. We cannot help but recall Abel’s self-assured cry:<sup>41</sup>

‘Dere ish but one Got and one Abel!’

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<sup>37</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historical Commission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. 1, 1875, 765. Bagge’s “new method” consisted *in einem Auf- und Niederglitschen mit demselben Finger auf den Seiten* [sic], *ohne alle weitere Applicatur*.

<sup>38</sup> *London Chronicle*, June 19-21, 1787, 592, col. 3

<sup>39</sup> Coviello Classics (2014), COV 91411

<sup>40</sup> National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5081

<sup>41</sup> Parke, *op. cit.*, 63

## Review

PETER HOLMAN

Charles Frederick / Carl Friedrich Abel: *Zweite Pembroke Sammlung: Zehn Sonaten für Viola da Gamba and Basso Continuo*, 2 vols.; *Zweite Pembroke Sammlung: Vier Duette für Viola da Gamba und Violoncello*, ed. Thomas Fritzscht (Heidelberg: Edition Güntersberg, 2014).

*Carl Friedrich Abel: Second Pembroke Collection, Sonatas for Viola da Gamba & Basso, Duets for Viola da Gamba & Violoncello*, Thomas Fritzscht *viola da gamba*, Michael Schönheit *pianoforte & harpsichord*, Werner Matzke *violoncello*, Coviello Classics COV 91411, 2 CDs, recorded 2014.

When I was working on the chapters devoted to Abel for my book *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010) I became aware that there was an important autograph manuscript of his gamba music that was in private hands, was inaccessible to musicologists and musicians, and contained music that had never been published. I managed to find out quite a lot about it because it had passed through London's sale rooms at least three times between 1881 and 1994 and was described in the sale catalogue each time; full details are in *Life after Death*, pp. 216-18. From an inscription on a flyleaf it is clear that it once belonged to the amateur gamba player Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), who was probably a pupil of Abel. It was sold by Puttick and Simpson on 27 November 1882, when it was purchased to the pioneer gamba player Edward Payne (1844-1905). After Payne's death it must have been acquired either directly or indirectly by the violin maker Arthur Frederick Hill (1860-1939), and was sold again by Hill's widow at Sotheby's on 17 June 1947. It then disappeared from view until it was sold at Sotheby's on 26 May 1994, when once again it was sold to a private collector. It is unfortunate that at that stage the British Library did not step in and purchase it, for the manuscript is of great importance for the history of music in London and English music in general, and the British Library possesses a related collection, Add. MS 31697, a large scrapbook of Abel's gamba music also once owned by the Countess of Pembroke and containing more of his autographs.

It was therefore with a mixture of excitement and chagrin that I eventually found out that the German gamba player Thomas Fritzscht had succeeded (where I had failed) in gaining access to the manuscript and obtaining permission from its owner for its contents to be published and recorded. The three-volume edition and the two-CD set under review here are the result. It turns out that the manuscript forms part of a collection of items relating to the Bach family circle owned by the Greek-American shipping magnate, writer and collector Elias Kulukundis, and that it was deposited in 2010 with other items from his collection in the Bach-Archiv in Leipzig. Fritzscht has put everyone interested in Abel in his debt by obtaining permission to perform, record and publish the collection. The Heidelberg firm Edition Güntersberg has made it available in three volumes, two each containing five sonatas for the conventional scoring of gamba with a simple

bass accompaniment and the third containing four more or less equal duets for gamba and violoncello. Of course, all the pieces could be (and probably were) played just by these two instruments. The bass lines of the solo sonatas are not figured in the manuscript, and by the time Abel wrote them it was becoming routine to accompany music of that sort just using a violoncello; Andreas Lidel's solo sonatas are labelled 'Viola da Gamba e Violoncello' in the Paris manuscript. Nevertheless, a simple realisation is provided for the edition, and Fritzscht and his colleagues are justified in using a keyboard continuo (a copy of a Mietke harpsichord and an original 1805 Broadwood piano) on the recording, since when solo sonatas of this sort were published (including Abel's *Six Easy Sonatas* of 1772) they were still usually provided with a figured bass.

Fritzscht has clearly done a good deal of research into Abel, his gamba music and the manuscript, set out in his extensive essay in the booklet for the CDs, his article in this issue of *JVdGS*, and his introductions to the editions. They provide what the reader needs to know about the composer, the manuscript, the other people featuring in its history, and the music. We learn, for instance, the name of another nineteenth-century owner of the manuscript: a certain J. Smith signed his name on the manuscript with the date April 1873, probably when he acquired it. According to Alec Hyatt King (*Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 59, 138), the collection of the musical antiquarian Thomas Oliphant was sold by Puttick and Simpson on 24 April 1873, so it would be worth checking to see whether the manuscript features in its published sale catalogue. Oliphant (1799-1873) could have acquired it when the Countess of Pembroke's collection was dispersed after her death in 1831.

Fritzscht also makes some interesting points about the autograph fingerings in the solo gamba parts, which he characterises as 'deviations from the conventional fingering and position techniques', pointing out that Abel 'favours a left-hand position on the fifth, sixth, or seventh fret on the upper three strings, on the one side, and the sliding of a finger under ligatures [slurs] on one string, on the other'. He suggests that Abel might have been influenced by the eccentric amateur musician and patron Charles Ernest Baron de Bagge, whom he is known to have met in Paris and who apparently had 'an entirely new method of playing the violin' that involved him sliding the finger up and down a single string – anticipating Wilhelmij's notorious arrangement of J.S. Bach's 'Air on the G String'. However, Abel's forward-looking approach to fingering seems to be of a piece with his apparent liking for late German viols, rather heavily constructed in a violin- rather than a mainstream viol-making tradition, and what can be discerned of his technique from the various pictures of him holding viols or playing them (*Life after Death*, pp. 195-7). Thomas Fritzscht uses two seven-string gambas of this sort for the recording, a Moravian instrument of 1774 and one made by Johann Casper Göbler in Breslau in 1784.

So far as the music of the ten sonatas and four duets is concerned, as Fritzscht points out, an obvious novelty is that they explore a far wider range of keys than in the pieces in Add. MS 31697: there are sonatas in E major, G minor and even E flat major. Also, they require a more developed technique in places, with several written-out cadenzas in the slow movements, and they are

generally rather more developed musically than all of Abel's other sonatas with bass with the exception of the two 'Prussian' sonatas that survive in Berlin manuscripts and were probably written during his visit to Germany in 1782-4 (*Life after Death*, pp. 193-5, 221-3). Fritzscht sees this as evidence that the new sonatas are late works, associating them with the 'Ten solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hanover-square Concerts' advertised for sale in London in 1794 (*Life after Death*, p. 202). However, the Kulukundis manuscript cannot be the one offered for sale, since the advertisement does not mention the four duets for gamba and violoncello, its most remarkable feature: they are unique in Abel's output and more generally in gamba music of the period.

Moreover, there is stronger evidence connecting the manuscript with the Countess of Pembroke and Wilton House (the Pembroke family seat) in the 1770s. The obvious *raison d'être* for the duets is that Abel wrote them for Elizabeth and her husband Henry, tenth earl (1734-94). As I pointed out in *Life after Death* (pp. 244-7), Henry was an accomplished amateur cellist, taught by, among others, Gaetano Ciabrano, James Cervetto and John Crosdill (the last two London's leading cellists in the 1770s and 1780s and close colleagues of Abel), and there is plenty of evidence that he was intelligent and a discriminating musical patron. He was, however, a rotten husband, conducting numerous affairs and eventually forcing Elizabeth to live apart from him, at first upstairs at Wilton (he had a separate apartment downstairs) and then in London. Fritzscht mentions that in 1787 George III (who had always a soft spot for her – see Alan Bennett's play *The Madness of George III*) gave her a house, Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park, but not that she had already been appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte in 1782 – a demanding, tedious and time-consuming job, vividly evoked in the journals of Fanny Burney, a fellow courtier in the 1780s. Thus if the manuscript was written for Elizabeth, as seems likely, then the obvious time is between 1770, when she and Henry were temporarily reconciled, and 1782; there is plenty of evidence of an active musical scene at Wilton during the 1770s. The more developed musical idiom of its contents can easily be explained by supposing that the collection was written and copied a few years later than Add. MS 31697, when she had acquired a solid technique and some measure of musical maturity. I cannot hear any stylistic features in the new pieces that suggest a date later than the 1770s.

Turning to the CDs, as with his earlier recording of newly discovered gamba sonatas by J.C. Bach and Abel's 'Prussian' sonatas (Coviello Classics, COV 21205, recorded 2011), Thomas Fritzscht impresses with his fine technique, his sensible tempi and his sensitive musicianship, though as before I sometimes found myself wanting him to take more risks, as in the witty and dashing final movement of the third duet, in G major A3:3 – in my opinion the finest of the four. That Abel was sometimes not above playing to the gallery is suggested by William Jackson's rather catty remark that his habit 'of accelerating the Movement in the last two or three Bars always produced a bad effect' (*Life after Death*, p. 181). There is not much bad taste here, though to be fair Fritzscht sometimes surprises with his own effective ornamentation, as with his fine introductory flourish to the Adagio of the Sonata in D A2:49, nicely matching

Abel's written-out cadenza at the end of the movement. Fritzsich is ably accompanied by his continuo team, with Werner Matzke a fine partner in the duets, though I found the harpsichord rather too insistent in places. The piano used here is more effective as a continuo instrument, despite the fact that it is much later than those Abel would have known.

All in all, I can strongly recommend these new editions and the accompanying CDs. The scores and parts are clearly printed, with sensible turns, and the editing is straightforward and effective, with the few changes reported in footnotes and the editorial additions clearly distinguished from the original text – though there are more slurs that need adding (many of them are added in the recording), and in my opinion the slashed slur / tie is more elegant and easier to read than the dotted type used here and in most editions produced in continental Europe. I hope that other players are already getting to grips with what must be the most important addition to the gamba repertory of recent years, and that we will soon hear many more recording and live performances of these delightful works. Perhaps Thomas Fritzsich can now run Abel's supposedly lost gamba concertos to earth.



# Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue, Revised Version

PETER HOLMAN

Charles Frederick Abel was probably the most prolific composer for the viola da gamba after the Baroque period.<sup>1</sup> We have ninety-five surviving works featuring the gamba in solo or obbligato roles: thirty pieces for unaccompanied gamba (plus three short cadenza-like passages); forty-nine solos or sonatas and two separate minuets for gamba and bass; four duets for gamba and violoncello; a gamba part possibly from a sonata with obbligato harpsichord; two incomplete trios for flute, gamba and bass; a quartet for flute, violin, gamba and violoncello; two quartets for gamba, violin, viola and violoncello; and an aria with gamba obbligato. In addition, there are a number of surviving violoncello parts that may originally have been intended for the gamba, and we know from newspaper advertisements and other documentary sources that many other works once existed, as we shall see.

Most of Abel's viola da gamba music was catalogued and published in modern editions by Walter Knappe in the 1960s and early 70s, though his work is unsatisfactory in several respects.<sup>2</sup> A number of pieces were omitted from his catalogue, some of which were known when it was compiled, there are many errors in the listing of sources and in the incipits of the pieces, and he is not a reliable guide to Abel's hand, failing to recognize genuine examples and wrongly claiming copies made by others as autographs. All in all, the time is ripe for a new catalogue.

In what follows I have grouped Abel's gamba music into eight categories by scoring:

1. Unaccompanied viola da gamba
2. Viola da gamba and bass/continuo
3. Viola da gamba and violoncello
4. Viola da gamba and ?harpsichord
5. Flute, viola da gamba and bass/continuo

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<sup>1</sup> For Abel's viola da gamba music, see especially F. Flassig, *Die soloistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1998), 195-203, 239-240; M. O'Loughlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians: The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School* (Aldershot, 2008), 198-204, 212; P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 200-232. Abel is normally referred to today using the German forms of his first names, Carl Friedrich, though he Anglicized them for his English publications and on official documents, such as those relating to his lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co., GB-Lna, C12/71/6 (1773), or the letters patent for his denization, GB-Lna, C97/611497 (11 May 1775); I am grateful to Ann van Allen Russell for these references.

<sup>2</sup> W. Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787)* (Cuxhaven, 1971); C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. W. Knappe, 16 vols. (Cuxhaven, 1958-1974).

6. Flute, violin, viola da gamba and violoncello
7. Viola da gamba, violin, viola and violoncello
8. Soprano, viola da gamba, two violins, viola and bass/continuo

In addition, an appendix discusses surviving works with violoncello parts that may originally have been written for the viola da gamba, as well as lost gamba works known only from documentary sources.

Within each category the works are presented in the order they appear in the primary sources, and the sources are ordered by the alphabetical order of their RISM library sigla, with (in the case of Category 2), the printed collection coming first in the sequence. Knape's catalogue numbers (WKO) have been included, but since a number of works are not in WKO I have allocated new numbers in the form 1:4 (i.e. the fourth piece in Category 1) or 7:2 (the second in Category 7), thus allowing for extra pieces to be added as they come to light; I suggest that works are referred to by prefixing the number with A for Abel.

Abel wrote his viola da gamba parts mostly in the treble clef, expecting it to be played at the lower octave; I have preserved this feature in the incipits. Occasionally, as in 4:1, 7:1 and 7:2, the parts are written in the alto and bass clefs, as in modern practice, which suggests the intervention of a contemporary copyist or arranger. I have made a distinction between solo gamba works that have a simple accompaniment, occasionally figured and usually labelled 'Basso' (Category 2), and duets specifically for gamba and violoncello (Category 3) in which the violoncello has a more active role. The titles of the pieces are given in the form they appear in the principal source; I have given appropriate titles to untitled pieces in square brackets. The incipits have been transcribed directly from the sources, where they are available, with a minimum of editorial changes and additions, though a few obvious errors have been corrected without comment; the exact placing and duration of slurs is sometimes open to question and may differ slightly from modern editions. I have only included fingerings that are autograph, in my opinion.

I have tried to list all modern editions, and would be glad to hear of any I have missed – or of any other omissions and errors. I am grateful to Susanne Heinrich, Michael O'Loughlin and Günter von Zadow for their helpful comments on a draft of the catalogue.

### Library Sigla

(Following the RISM system used in *Grove Music Online*)

A-HE	Heiligenkreuz, Musikarchiv des Zisterzienserstiftes
A-LA	Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach, Bibliothek
AUS-NLwm	Nedlands (Perth), Wigmore Music Library, University of Western Australia

CZ-Pnm	Prague, Národní Muzeum
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library
GB-Lna	London, The National Archives
GB-Lu	London, University of London, Senate House Library
US-NYp	New York, NY, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division

### Publisher Abbreviations

CAP	Charivari Agréable Publications, Oxford
DE	Dovehouse Editions, Ottawa, Viola da gamba series
Fretwork	Fretwork Editions, London
EG	Edition Güntersberg, Heidelberg
HM	Hortus Musicus, Bärenreiter, Kassel
Knape	C. F. Abel, <i>Compositionen</i> , ed. Walter Knape, Cuxhaven
PRB	PRB Productions, Albany CA
UO	Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna

### Sources

*The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari*, 2 vols. (London: Welcker, [1767]). A selection of arias from the opera in full score. 8:1 is in vol. 1, pp. 2-7; copy consulted: GB-Lbl, G.206.k.(2).

*Six Easy Sonattas for the Harpsichord, or for a Viola da Gamba, Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough-Bass Accompaniment* ([?London, ?1772]). It consists of 2:1-6 in score. The circumstances of its publication are unclear: it is conventionally said to have been published by J. J. Hummel of Amsterdam in 1772, though it has an English title and the only evidence of his involvement is a printed label stuck on the title-page of the only surviving copy, D-Dl, Mus. 3122-R-2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 218. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Michael O'Loghlin (Heidelberg, 2005), EG, G501.

*Les Suites des trios premieres: trios pour le violon, violoncello, et basso* (London: Longman, Lukey and Co., [1772]). It consists of parts of 5:1, 5:2 and a variant of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 (London, 1772), no. 5; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226. The only known copies are at GB-Ckc (violoncello and basso parts) and AUS-NLwm (violoncello part).

A-LA, oblong-quarto manuscript parts of 7:1 and 7:2, copied by an unidentified hand. The ultimate source was clearly Abel's *Six Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello Obligati*, op. 8 (London, 1769), nos. 5 and 2, though the fact that they are numbered 1 and 3 in the manuscripts rather than 5 and 2 suggests that there was at least one intermediate source.

D-B, KHM 25 a/b. Folio scores of 2:7 and 2:8 copied by an unidentified late eighteenth-century German hand. It is not autograph, as claimed by Knape:<sup>3</sup> the handwriting is quite different from Abel's known autographs, such as GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, Items 1-5 and the first section of US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, the composer is given the formal title 'Sig<sup>r</sup> Abel' (he signed his work 'C. F. Abel'), and the viola da gamba part is mostly written in the alto clef; the composer wrote his gamba music in the treble clef.

D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10. Folio parts of the three-movement version of 6:1, copied on paper stamped 'J J / Berlin' by the same late nineteenth-century copyist as part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. He may be the Braunschweig cellist and gamba player Johann Klingenberg (1852-1905) since D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 came from his collection.<sup>4</sup>

D-B, Mus. Ms. 263. Folio scores and gamba parts of 2:10 and 2:7, copied by two late nineteenth-century hands. The first, possibly Johann Klingenberg, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. The second hand used paper stamped 'C. Peters München'. They are edited for performance with added dynamics and a keyboard realization of the bass.

D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. Folio scores of 2:10, 1:3 and 1:4 (Item 1), 6:1 (Item 2), 2:7 and 2:8 (Item 4), as well as Abel's two sonatas for violoncello and bass WKO 147 and 148 (Item 3), from the collection of Johann Klingenberg. The hand of Items 1 and 2, possibly Klingenberg himself, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. A scrapbook containing seven separate items, the first five of which are Abel's autographs of 2:9, 1:1, 1:2, 1:3, and 1:4. Items 6 and 7 are manuscripts each containing sequences of 15 sonatas by Abel for viola da gamba and bass (2:10-21, 23, 25-26 and 2:27-41), as well as, in Item 6, the individual minuets 2:22 and 2:24. They were copied by an unidentified hand probably in the 1770s from Abel's autographs; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 209-211. Most if not all the items were owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), and it was probably assembled in its present form by the artist and gamba player Thomas Cheeseman (1760-?1842). There are facsimiles of Items 2, 3, 4 and 5 in C. F. Abel, *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3. Three late eighteenth-century folio manuscript part-books containing, in the earliest layer, trio sonatas by Maximilian Humble and

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<sup>3</sup> WKO, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> For Klingenberg, see O'Loghlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians*, 68.

anonymous, as well as (in the first violin and bass parts) a set of early eighteenth-century sonatas composed or arranged for viola da gamba and bass; the gamba part of 4:1 comes at the end of this sequence, though there is no corresponding part in the bass part-book; see P. Holman, 'A New Source of Bass Viol Music from Eighteenth-Century England', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 81-99; Holman, *Life after Death*, 127-130, 226-227, 269-271. The part-books seem to have been owned in turn by John Williamson (1740-1815), a Canterbury surgeon; his son John (1790-1828), also a Canterbury surgeon; the organist Stephen Elvey (1805-1860); and his brother Sir George (1816-1893); they were given to London University Library in 1925 as part of the Elvey Collection.

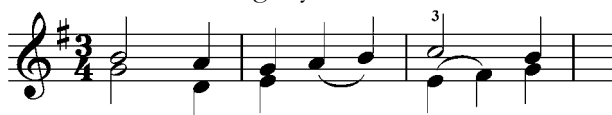
US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871. An oblong large-quarto manuscript beginning with 29 pieces for unaccompanied viola da gamba (1:5-33) in Abel's autograph, as well as containing copies of Corelli's trio sonatas op. 1, nos. 1-2 and op. 3, nos. 1-5 in a different hand, and an anonymous 'Solo per il Cembalo' that appears to be in Abel's autograph and may be by him; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 203-204. The manuscript subsequently belonged to Joseph Coggins (1786-1866) and Edward Rimbault (1816-1876), passing into the Drexel Collection after the sale of Rimbault's library in 1877. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Walter Knappe (Peer: Alamire, 1993), Facsimile series, 21, and another in *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

Collection of the late Edgar Hunt, manuscript parts of 6:1. They have not been available for study, but a note in the 'VIOLA (or Viola da gamba)' part of Hunt's edition (Schott, 10190) states: 'The MS part (in the editor's possession) is headed "Viola da gamba" whereas in the title it is given as "Violetta". The part is written an octave higher in the treble clef in accordance with Abel's custom when writing for the Viola da gamba'.

Kulukundis collection of Dr. Elias Kulukundis, at present on deposit at the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig; see the introductions by Thomas Fritzsche to the modern editions, EG, G250, G253 and G254, his article in the present issue of VdGSJ, and Holman, *Life after Death*, 216-18 – the last written before the manuscript became available for study. Like the items in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, it belonged to Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), and then among others to a J. Smith, who apparently acquired it in 1873; Edward Payne (1844-1904), acquired at Puttick and Simpson, 27 November 1882, lot 508; and Arthur Frederick Hill (1860-1939), acquired in 1905. It was sold again at Sotheby's, 26 May 1994, lot 97. The folio manuscript consists of ten sonatas for viola da gamba and bass (2:42-51) and four duets for gamba and violoncello (3:1-4), all in Abel's autograph except for 2:47-49, copied by an unknown hand.

## Category 1: Unaccompanied Viola da Gamba

- 1:1** [Te]mpo di Menuet, G major, WKO 153.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 6v (Item 2).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: slightly related to 1:24.



- 1:2** Tempo minuetto, D major, WKO 154.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 7 (Item 3).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: related to 1:22.



- 1:3** Sonata, G major, WKO 155.  
 Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 8-9 (Item 4); D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 1, pp. 6-7.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: A later hand added 'Composed for the Lady Pembroke' on GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 8. D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 was presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. 1:3/1 is related to 1:4.

[Ada]g[io]



Allegro



Menuet



- 1:4** Adagio, G major, not in WKO.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 9v (Item 5).  
 Edition: Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: related to 1:3/1.



- 1:5** Allegro, D major, WKO 186.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 1.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 042.



- 1:6** [Adagio or Andante], D major, WKO 187.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 2.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:7** Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 188.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 3.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:8** Adagio, D major, WKO 189.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 4.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:9** Vivace, D major, WKO 190.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 5.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:10** Andante, D major, WKO 191.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 6.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: the opening is related to Louis Caix d'Hervelois, Musette in D major for bass viol and continuo, *Troisième oeuvre* (Paris, 1731), 14-15.<sup>5</sup>



- 1:11** [Allegro], D major, WKO 192.  
 Sources: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 7.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:12** [Minuet], D major, WKO 193.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.




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<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Richard Sutcliffe for drawing this to my attention.



- 1:13** [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:14** [Prelude], D major, WKO 194.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:15** [Allegro], D major, WKO 195.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 9.  
 Edition: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:18** Allegro, D major, WKO 198.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 12-13.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:19** [Minuet], D major, WKO 199.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:20** [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.  
 Edition: CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:21** Tempo di Minuet [en rondeau], D major, WKO 200.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 14.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:22** Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 201.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 15.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: related to 1:2.



- 1:23** [Minuet en rondeau], D major, WKO 202.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 16.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



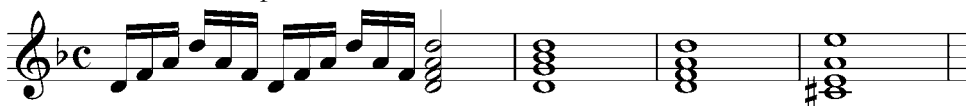
- 1:24** [Minuet with two variations], in D major, WKO 203, 204.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: slightly related to 1:1.



- 1:25** [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:26** [Prelude], D minor, WKO 205.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:27** [Minuet], D minor, WKO 206.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



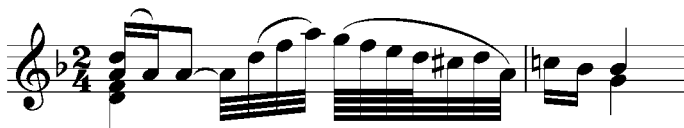
- 1:28** Allegro, D minor, WKO 207.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 19.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:29** [Allegro], D minor, WKO 208.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 20-21.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:30** Adagio, D minor, WKO 209.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 22.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:31** Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 210.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 23.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:32** Allegretto, A major, WKO 211.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 24-25.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:33** [Rondo], A major, WKO 212.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 25.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



## Category 2: Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo

- 2:1** Sonata, C major, WKO 141.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 1, pp. 2-5.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062.

Vivace



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:2** Sonata, A major, WKO 142.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 2, pp. 6-9.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062.

Allegro



Siciliano



Tempo di Minueto



**2:3** Sonata, D major, WKO 143.  
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 3, pp. 10-12.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



**2:4** Sonata, G major, WKO 144.  
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 4, pp. 13-16.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:5** Sonata, A major, WKO 145.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 5, pp. 17-20.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:6** Sonata, E minor, WKO 146.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 6, pp. 21-24.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Moderato



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:7** Sonata, E minor, WKO 150.  
 Sources: D-B, KHM 25a; D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 4.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, ES1373; EG, G090.

Siciliano



Allegro



Presto



- 2:8** Sonata, G major, WKO 149.  
Sources: D-B, KHM 25b; D-B, Slg. Klg. 2, Item 4.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; EG, G090.

Adagio



Allegro



Allegro ma non presto



- 2:9** Sonata, G major, WKO 152.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 3-6 (Item 1).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015; EG, G188.

[A]llegretto



Adagio



[A]llegro





**2:10** Sonata, C major, WKO 151.

Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 10v-13 (Item 6, no. 1); D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2., Item 1, pp. 1-5.

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Comment: the Cantabile, arranged for gamba, violin and violoncello probably by Johannes Klingenberg, also appears in the D-B, Mus. MS 253/10 version of 6:1. The D-B manuscripts were presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:11** Sonata, D major, WKO 156.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 13v-15 (Item 6, no. 2).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Minuetto



**2:12** Sonata, G major, WKO 157.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 15v-17 (Item 6, no. 3).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:13** Sonata, D major, WKO 158.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 17v-19 (Item 6, no. 4).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Moderato



Minuetto



**2:14** Sonata, G major, WKO 159.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 19v-21 (Item 6, no. 5).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Minuetto



**2:15** Sonata, D major, WKO 160.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 21v-23 (Item 6, no. 6).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Minuetto



**2:16** Sonata, D major, WKO 161.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 23v-25 (Item 6, no. 7).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



[Minuet]



**2:17** Sonata, C major, WKO 162.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 25v-27 (Item 6, no. 8).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Vivace



**2:18** Sonata, A major, WKO 163.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 27v-29 (Item 6, no. 9).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:19** Sonata, A major, WKO 164.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 29v-31 (Item 6, no. 10).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto



- 2:20** Sonata, D major, WKO 165.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 31v-34 (Item 6, no. 11).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Adaggio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:21** Sonata, D major, WKO 166.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 34v-36 (Item 6, no. 12).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



**2:22** Tempo di Minuetto, C major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 37.

Edition: PRB, CL014.

Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:21 in PRB, CL014, but the discrepancy of keys makes this unlikely.



**2:23** Sonata, G major, WKO 167.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 37v-38v (Item 6, no. 13).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:24** Tempo di Minuetto, D major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 39.

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

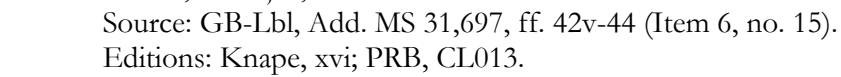
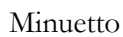
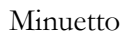
Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:23 in Knape, xvi and PRB, CL013. This is unlikely unless a *da capo* to 2:23/2 is intended, though it is not indicated in the manuscript.



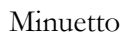
**2:25** Sonata, D major, WKO 168.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 39v-42 (Item 6, no. 14).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Allegro



- 2:27** Sonata, C major, WKO 170.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 45v-48 (Item 7, no. 1).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Moderato



Andantino



Allegro



- 2:28** Sonata, G major, WKO 171.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 48v-51 (Item 7, no. 2).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Vivace



Cantabile



Vivace



- 2:29** Sonata, D major, WKO 172.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 51v-54 (Item 7, no. 3).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.  
 Comment: the second movement is wrongly given in the source with only two sharps.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



**2:30** Sonata, A major, WKO 173.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 54v-57 (Item 7, no. 4).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:31** Sonata, G major, WKO 174.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 57v-60 (Item 7, no. 5).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato





Cantabile



Vivace



**2:32** Sonata, C major, WKO 175.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 60v-63 (Item 7, no. 6).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adaggio



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:33** Sonata, A major, WKO 176.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 63v-66 (Item 7, no. 7).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andantino



Allegro



**2:34** Sonata, A major, WKO 177.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 66v-69 (Item 7, no. 8).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Andante



Allegro



**2:35** Sonata, G major, WKO 178.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 69v-71 (Item 7, no. 9).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuetto



- 2:36** Sonata, A major, WKO 179.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 71v-73 (Item 7, no. 10).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:37** Sonata, D major, WKO 180.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 73v-75 (Item 7, no. 11).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Siciliano



Minuetto



- 2:38** Sonata, D major, WKO 181.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 75v-77 (Item 7, no. 12).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto [and two variations]



**2:39** Sonata, G major, WKO 182.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 77v-79 (Item 7, no. 13).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuet



**2:40** Sonata, A major, WKO 183.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 79v-81 (Item 7, no. 14).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuetto



- 2:41** Sonata, C major, WKO 184.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 81v-83 (Item 7, no. 15).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Moderato



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:42** Sonata, E major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 3.  
 Edition: EG, G253

Moderato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



- 2:43** Sonata, E $\flat$  major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 4.  
 Edition: EG, G253.

Vivace



Adagio



Menuet



**2:44** Sonata, G minor, not in WKO.

Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 5.

Edition: EG, G253.

Modorato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



**2:45** Sonata, B<sup>♭</sup> major, not in WKO.

Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 6.

Edition: EG, G253.

Vivace



Adagio



Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 7.

Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 8.

- 2:48** Sonata, G major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 9.  
 Edition: EG, G254.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Menuetto



- 2:49** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 10.  
 Edition: EG, G254.

Modorato



Adagio



Menuetto



- 2:50** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 13.  
 Edition: EG, G254.

Allegro





Adagio



Allegretto



**2:51** Sonata, A major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 14.  
Edition: EG, G254.

Modorato



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



### Category 3: Viola da Gamba and Violoncello

**3:1** Duetto, D major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 1.  
Edition: EG, G250.

Allegro



Rondeau



- 3:2** Duetto, D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 2.  
 Edition: EG, G250.

Allegro



Adagio



Tempo di Menuet



- 3:3** Duetto, G major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 11.  
 Edition: EG, G250.

Poco allegro



Un poco adagio



Rondeau alegretto



- 3:4** Duetto, G major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, Kulukundis collection, no. 12.  
 Edition: EG, G250.

Un poco allegro



Andante



Tempo di Minuet



#### Category 4: Viola da Gamba and ?Harpsichord

**4:1** [Sonata], C major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3, part 1, pp. 30-31.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba part survives, entitled 'F. Abel per il Viol di Gambo', though its style suggests that it comes from an accompanied sonata with obbligato harpsichord rather than one for gamba and bass; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 226-227.

[Allegro]



[Andante]



[Minuet]



#### Category 5: Flute, Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo

**5:1** Trio, F major, not in WKO.

*Les Suites des trios premieres*, pp. 8-9 in each part, no. 4.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be '*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*'. From the documents relating to Abel's lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written 'about 10 years ago' (i.e. around

1763) and was originally composed ‘for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass’; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Moderato



Andante



Menuetto



**5:2**

Trio, G major, not in WKO.

*Les Suites des trios premieres*, pp. 9-10 in each part, no. 5.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be ‘*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*’. From the documents relating to Abel’s lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written ‘about 10 years ago’ (i.e. around 1763) and was originally composed ‘for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass’; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Allegro



Andante



Menuetto



## Category 6: Flute, Violin, Viola da Gamba and Violoncello

### 6:1 Quartet, G major, WKO 227.

Sources: manuscript in the possession of the late Edgar Hunt; D-B, Mus.

Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 2; D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10.

Editions: Schott, 10190; PRB, CL007; EG, G199.

Comment: the Edgar Hunt and D-B manuscripts preserve independent versions, published respectively by Schott and PRB; the one in D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 may derive from a manuscript, now lost, that was offered for sale in Hamburg in 1783 as ‘*Abel*, I Quatuor. Viola da Gamba Fl. Violin & Violoncel G dur’.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the version in D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 has a central ‘Cantabile’ described as an insertion (‘Einlage’); it is an arrangement, possibly made by Johann Klingenberg, of 2:10/2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 227-228. The two-movement version is found as the outer movements of a flute quartet in CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, while the Allegretto also serves as the finale of the string quartet op. 12, no. 6, WKO 72/3. EG, G199 is a critical edition taking account of all the sources.

Allegro Moderato



Cantabile: see 2:10/2

Allegretto



## Category 7: Viola da Gamba, Violin, Viola, Violoncello

### 7:1 Quarteto N: 1, A major, not in WKO.

Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.

Edition: none.

Comment: An arrangement of no. 5 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 65, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

<sup>6</sup> C. F. Cramer, *Magazin der Musik*, i/I (Hamburg, 1783), 283.

Un poco Vivace



Adagio ma non Troppo



Allegro assai



## 7:2 Quarteto N. 3, B<sup>♭</sup> major, not in WKO.

Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.

Edition: none.

Comment: An arrangement of no. 2 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 62, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

Allegro con Spirito



Adagio



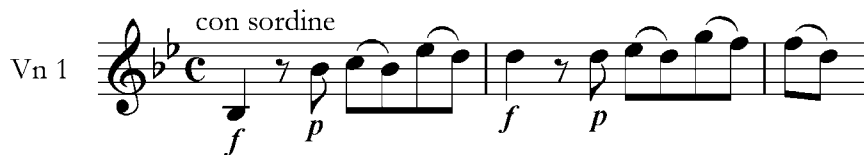
Tempo di Menuetto



Category 8:  
Soprano, Viola da Gamba, Two Violins, Viola and Bass/Continuo

- 8:1** 'Frena le belle lagrime', B $\flat$  major, not in WKO.  
Source: *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari*, vol. 1, pp. 2-7.  
Modern edition: Fretwork, FE2.

Cantabile



### Appendix 1: Lost or Unidentified Works

Abel must have composed much more viola da gamba music than has survived. He came to England in the winter of 1758-1759 at the age of 35 or 36, having been employed at the Dresden court for about a decade, and yet no gamba music of his survives from that period, with the possible exception of his early Concerto in B $\flat$  major, WKO 52.<sup>7</sup> It survives in a set of parts, D-B, Mus. Ms. 252/10, with the solo part labelled 'Violoncello Concertato', though the writing is significantly different from Abel's other solo violoncello music, such as the Duet in D major, WKO 228:<sup>8</sup> it is relatively simple and stays in the alto-tenor register, as in Abel's authentic gamba music, only descending to A. Abel is known to have composed gamba concertos: a manuscript of 'Mr. Abel's last solos and concertos, for the viola de gambo' was lot 37 in the first day of the sale of his effects after his death in 1787.<sup>9</sup> He is also known to have played gamba concertos, presumably of his own composition, in a number of London concerts.<sup>10</sup>

Much also must be lost in other genres. Abel was at the centre of London concert life for 25 years, and is known to have participated in more than 400 public concerts during that time, being advertised as playing 'A Solo on the Viola da Gamba' more than 60 times.<sup>11</sup> The advertised concerts must be only a fraction of

<sup>7</sup> Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, ix. 91-110; idem, *Konzert B-dur für Violoncello (Gambe), Streicher und Continuo*, ed. H. Lomnitzer (Wolfenbüttel, 1961). See also Holman, *Life after Death*, 200-201.

<sup>8</sup> Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 225-231; idem, *A Duetto for two Violoncellos*, ed. G. von Zadow and L. von Zadow, introduction by P. Holman (Heidelberg, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> S. Roe, 'The Sale Catalogue of Carl Friedrich Abel (1787)', in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (London, 2008), 105-143, at 131.

<sup>10</sup> Holman, *Life after Death*, 185-187.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 177-179.

the total: announcements for the Bach-Abel concerts never list particular pieces, doubtless many appearances went unrecorded, and his public appearances might well have been equalled by those in private concerts at court and in the houses of the aristocracy. Thus, at a time when novelty was increasingly valued in London's concert life, Abel would have needed a constant supply of new 'solos'; I have argued that these were sonatas for gamba and bass rather than unaccompanied pieces, which seem to have been used for performances in private.<sup>12</sup> Most of Abel's surviving gamba sonatas come from manuscripts once owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke, and seem to have been composed for teaching purposes.<sup>13</sup> Of the hundreds he must have composed for his own use, on presumably a higher technical level, we only have the two 'Prussian' sonatas, 2:7 and 2:8, and possibly 2:9, 2:10, and some or all of the 10 sonatas in the part-autograph manuscript in a Kulukundis collection, 2:42-51. Evidence of the existence of lost sonatas or solos is provided by the manuscript of 'last solos and concertos, for the viola da gambo' in the sale catalogue of his effects, already mentioned, and a 1794 newspaper advertisement by the London booksellers Evan and Thomas Williams, who offered 'Eighteen Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, for the Viola da Gamba, written by himself, with the appoggiaturas and graces to the adagios, as he played them', and 'Ten Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hanover-square Concerts'.<sup>14</sup>

There is evidence of missing gamba music in two other genres. The 1794 advertisement also offered for sale 'TEN Quartettos, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Flute, Violin, and Violoncello in Abel's handwriting' and 'Twenty-four Trios, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Violin, and Violoncello, by Abel, and in his own hand-writing'. Of these, we only have the Quartet in G major 6:1, though it is likely that others survive as conventional flute quartets, and trios for violin, violoncello and bass. Two flute quartets by Abel, in F major WKO 225 and D major WKO 226, were published in *Six Quartettos for a German Flute, Violin, a Tenor, and Bass* (London, 1776),<sup>15</sup> and there are manuscript copies of others, in A-HE, V1c1; CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, A10-12; D-B, Mus. Ms. 250/10; and DK-Kk, mu. 6212.1640 and 6212.1642,<sup>16</sup> most of which are variant versions of Abel's *Second Set of Six Quartettos*, op. 12 (London, 1775).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the violoncello parts of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 are likely to have been originally written for gamba,<sup>18</sup> particularly since we have seen that 5:1 and 5:2 were published as trios for violin, violoncello and bass. They are eminently suitable for the gamba, having the overall range *A-d''*, lying mostly in the alto-tenor register, and having no 'cello-like chords. More generally, almost all

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 179-183.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 209-218.

<sup>14</sup> *The Morning Herald*, 3 April 1794.

<sup>15</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 238-256.

<sup>16</sup> For full details, see *RISM Series A/II: Music Manuscripts after 1600* <<http://0-web.ebscohost.com>>.

<sup>17</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xi-xii.

<sup>18</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xiii.



of Abel's chamber music could be considered as suitable for the gamba, since there is evidence that he played the viola parts of chamber music in concerts at court,<sup>19</sup> and his practice of writing gamba music in the treble clef meant that he (and others accustomed to playing his gamba music now and then) could read any violin or flute part at the lower octave.

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<sup>19</sup> Holman, *Life after Death*, 187-191.

# La basse de viole après la mort de Marin Marais (1728)

PIA PIRCHER

## Introduction

The French Baroque is a very flourishing era in the history of music and is notable for the establishment of the *Académies* by Louis XIV. It is also an extremely well documented epoch for the arts. The 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is often considered as the ‘Golden Age’ of the Viol, as this time mostly shapes our view of this instrument today, with an abundance of compositions, publications, biographical sources and descriptions relating to the instrument.

But what happened to the *basse de viole* after the death of Marin Marais in 1728, whose influence dominates our present understanding of the instrument, with his compositions in five books and his presence at the court in Versailles? Is Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, the son of the famous Antoine Forqueray, really the last virtuoso of the viol, when the instrument was no longer fashionable? Are there compositions of the last decades of the *Ancien Régime* for the *basse de viole*? And if yes, what stylistic and technical characteristics can be found?

This article is an attempt to better understand the instrument, the *basse de viole*, its social background, the compositions and players in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in France. I will confine myself to the years between 1728 (the death of Marin Marais) and 1789 (the end of the *Ancien Régime*), and to the *milieu* of Paris and the royal court. It is not intended to be a complete analysis of all the music written for viola da gamba in those years, but rather should be seen as a sample to help reconstruct the context of the social place of the instrument, the professional players, the amateurs, and the development of the repertoire.

## The ‘Golden Age’ of the Viol

The years between 1650 and 1725 are often described as the ‘Golden Age’ of the French viol, a statement based on the multitude of compositions, most of them in prints. Louis XIV used art and music, organized in institutions, for his political strategies, but he also created an environment where music could flourish. Through this process we can today access many sources and documents, which provide a cohesive image of the time and the state of the cultural life.

The viol music of the years under the regency of Louis XIV is the subject of many articles and books, such as the works of Johan Henrik Bol,<sup>1</sup> Bonney

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Bol, *La basse de viole au temps de Marin Marais et d’ Antoine Forqueray*, Bilthoven, Creighton 1973.

McDowell<sup>2</sup> and Lucy Robinson<sup>3</sup>. These writers focus on compositions by Dubuisson (1622–1681), Hotman (c.1610–1663), Sainte Colombe (c.1640–1700), Marin Marais (1656–1728) and Antoine Forqueray (1672–1745). But the next generation, including Louis de Caix d’Hervelois (1680–1759), Charles Dollé (c.1710–1755), Antoine Morel and Roland Marais (1685–1750) are given less attention. Only Jean-Baptiste Forqueray (1699–1782) is a violist of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, who receives prominence as a player in that era. Furthermore, the works, which were composed and printed in the years up to 1730, are well served in new editions or facsimile-prints.

So the impression is gained that the viol is slowly dying out during that time and becomes silent after the death of Marin Marais in 1728. The recognition of Jean-Baptiste Forqueray is an exception, justified by the fame of his father and his exceptional talent.

This impression is reinforced by a little publication of 1740 by the advocate Hubert Le Blanc.<sup>4</sup> It is a glowing appreciation of the glory of the instrument, mostly from a historic point of view. The author is describing the current situation<sup>5</sup>:

*L’ Empire de la Viole étoit fondé & puissamment établi par le Père Marais,  
qui comme Simon, à l’ égard de celui d’ Athène, l’ avoit formé de belle Pièces  
en bon nombre.*

*[...] Sultan Violon, un Avorton, un Pygmée, se met en tête d’ en  
vouloir à la Monarchie universelle.*

*[...] Les deux Acolytes de Sultan Violon s’ appelloient Messire  
Clavecin & Sire Violoncel [...]*<sup>6</sup>

As this quotation of Hubert Le Blanc proves, he does not aspire to scientific precision.

Since this emotional publication with the title *Défense de la basse de viole contre les Entrées du Violon Et les Prétentions du Violoncelle*<sup>7</sup> is often taken as a proof of the extinction of the viol, it is extremely interesting to investigate the development of the musical life after the reign of Louis XIV and the viol after the death of Marin Marais 1728.

A possible reason for the declining preference of the viol is given by Ancelet a couple of years later 1757.<sup>8</sup>

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2 B. McDowell, *Marais and Forqueray: A historical and analytical study of their music for solo Basse de viole*, Columbia University, New York 1974.

3 L. Robinson, *The Forqueray Family and the French Viol Tradition*, Cambridge University, Cambridge 1981.

4 H. Le Blanc, *Défense de la basse de viole*, Roger, Amsterdam 1740.

5 H. Le Blanc, *Défense de la basse de viole*, Roger, Amsterdam 1740, 28-32.

6 Translation by the author: ‘The empire of the viol was founded and powerfully established by Father Marais, who like Simon, towards Athena, has formed beautiful pieces in good number. [...] Sultan Violin, a gnome, a pygmy, has put in his head to want the universal monarchy. [...] The two associates of Sultan Violin are called Lady Harpsichord and Mister Violoncello.’

7 Translation by the author: ‘defence of the bass viol against the undertaking of the Violin and the pretentiousness of the cello’.

8 Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique, les musiciens, et les instruments*, Roger, Amsterdam 1757, 24.

... L' on doit cependant convenir que la Basse-de-Viole a des agréments, & que si elle est bannie des grands Concerts, par rapport à la foiblesse du son, elle est fort agréable dans la chambre, surtout avec le Clavecin ...<sup>9</sup>

But this is also evidence of the viol's use in a more intimate surrounding. The fact, that two publications are devoted to the viol and its status, shows the importance and social weight of the instrument.

In the dedication of his publication for Henriette de France, Jean-Baptiste Forqueray writes in 1747.<sup>10</sup>

... La Viole, malgré ses avantages, est tombée dans une Espèce d'oubli, votre gout, Madame, peut lui rendre la célébrité quelle a eue si longtemps...<sup>11</sup>

Is Forqueray right? Has the viol fallen into oblivion?

### The development of the bass viol after 1728

Because of the increasing interest in recent years in music at the court of Frederick the Great (1712–1786) and the rediscovery of compositions for viol from this time (and its systemisation), questions of how the viol developed in France during this period also need to be asked: which music for bass viol was played by whom in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in France and who sponsored it?

By listing relevant compositions after 1728 a remarkable list accrues. In some of the publications, the viol is just cited in the title to attract more buyers, but many are explicitly for the viol. A popular grouping in the middle of the century is the quartet, particularly that for violin, flute, viol and basso continuo provided by many composers. The best known are the 'Parisian Quartets' by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681 – 1767), which were performed in the *Concerts Spirituel* in five concerts in the season 1737/38.<sup>12</sup> The composer reports<sup>13</sup>

*“Die Bewunderungswürdige Art, mit welcher die Quatuors von den Herren Blavet, Traversisten, Guignon, Violinisten, Forcroy dem Sohn, Gambisten, und Edouard, Violoncellisten, gespielt wurden, Verdiente, wenn Worte zulänglich wären, hier eine Beschreibung. Gnug, sie machten die Ohren des Hofes und der Stadt ungewöhnlich aufmercksam, und erwarben mir, in kurtzer Zeit, eine fast allgemeine Ehre, welche mit gebäußter Höflichkeit*

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9 Translation by the author: '... it has to be admitted that the bass viol has its pleasures, & that even if it is banned from the big concerts, because of the weakness of the sound, it is pleasant in the house, especially with the harpsichord.'

10 J. B. Forqueray (ed.), *Pièces de viole avec la Basse continue*, Performer's Facsimiles, New York 1985, III.

11 Translation by the author: '... the viol, despite its advantages, is fallen into oblivion; your taste, My Lady, can restore its fame, which it had for so long a time...'

12 C. Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel 1725 – 1790*, Société Française de Musicologie, Paris, 2000, 251.

13 G. Ph. Telemann, *Autobiographie*. – In: J. Mattheson, *Grundlagen einer Ehrenpforte*, Hamburg 1740, 367.

*Begleitet war.*<sup>14</sup>

For this particular grouping were published (among others) 1743 *Six sonates en quatuors ou conversations galantes et amusantes entre une flutte traversière, un violon, une basse de viole, et la basse continue* by Louis Gabriel Guillemain (1705 – 1770) and *Trattamento dell' harmonia per sinfonie da camera a quadro istromenti, violin, flauto traverso e viola da gamba overo violoncello con il basso fondamentale* 1733 by Martin Christian Schultze. There is also a record in *Mercure de France* in March 1733 about the later work.<sup>15</sup>

The publication was issued in parts and was dedicated to Comte d' Egmond. The family Pignatelli–d'Egmond belongs to the European high nobility and the relatives<sup>16</sup> of the family will be relevant to the sponsors of the instrument.

The initial rivalry between viola/cello and viol can be seen in the titles of publications, where the convertibility of *da braccio* and *da gamba* instruments is recorded too. Also new instruments occur: besides the known *Baryton*, which was popular in southern Germany/Austria, especially at the court of Duke Esterhazy, and which was introduced in Paris by Andreas Lidl in 1778, the *Almanach Musical* informs us about another curiosity, the *Alto Viole*,<sup>17</sup> a '*dessus de viole monte en haut contre*' with the tuning c – g – d' – g' – c".

Besides Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, there are other known composers for the viol at this time: Roland Marais (c.1685–c.1750), Charles Dollé (fl. 1735–1755) and Louis de Caix d' Herveois (c. 1670–1759).

### **The rediscovery of the lesser known composers, players and sponsors**

To reconstruct a clear picture of the musical context and the role of the *basse de viole* in it, the publications and editions of both French composers and of foreign musicians working in this environment are of importance.

Historical catalogues of the royal libraries, of publishers and of music dealers provide indications of the repertoire of the time. Furthermore it is possible to note which publications were published in several editions as well as observing details of the sales of works. Investigating people has been a great part of my research, in which memoirs, journals, biographies and the archive of the royal household are important sources of information.

The sources are:

- *Mercure de France*
- *Almanach Musical*

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14 Translation by the author: "The admirable style, with which the Quatuors were played by the Mr's Blavet, flutist, Guignon, violinist, Forcroy the son, violist, and Edouard, cellist, deserves, if words would be adequate, a description here. Enough, they made the ears of the court and of the city unusually attentive, and secured me, in shortest time, an almost general honour, which was accompanied by cumulative politeness."

15 *Mercure de France*, Paris, 1733, 556.

16 Procope-Charles-Nicolas-Augustin-Léopold Pignatelli, Comte d' Egmond is married to Henriette-Julie de Durfort, the daughter of Duke of Duras and Louise-Madeleine Eschalart de la Marck.

17 *Almanach Musical*, 1779, 929f.

- *Catalogue de la musique imprimée et manuscrite conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale*
- *Catalogue de la musique imprimée avant 1800*
- *Inventaire général des Effets*
- *Catalogue de la collection G. Thibault*
- Catalogue of the publisher *Le Clerc* 1737 and 1742

### The *milieu*

From the reign of Louis XIV onwards the viol is a renowned instrument at the court and several *joueurs de viole* are employed in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when virtuosos such as Jean-Baptiste Forqueray and Barthélemy de Caix are serving at the royal court.

The nobility hosts private soirees and concerts where the bass viol takes an important place. At a private evening of Madame de Lauraguais,<sup>18</sup> the mistress of the king, Jean-Baptiste Forqueray performs together with his wife in the presence of the successor to the throne and surrounded by the high nobility. The travelling virtuoso Andreas Lidl introduces the *Baryton* in Paris 1775 at a private concert of Baron de Bagge.<sup>19</sup>

But the nobility supports the instrument not just financially through private concerts, or as dedicatees, but also as active playing amateurs. Marquis de la Marck,<sup>20</sup> brother in law of the dedicatee of Schultze's *Trattamento*, Comte d' Egmond, and Marquis Dampierre are just two of the noble viol players along with Henriette de France. Also learning the viol is part of the education of the king's children in their music lessons.<sup>21</sup>

Viol players are employed at the court in different functions until the end of the *Ancien Régime*. The illustrious Jean-Baptiste Forqueray and Barthélemy de Caix are *ordinaires de musique*; the main duty of the latter is to teach the king's children the viol. Several *joueurs de viole* serve in the *musique de chambre*, most of them having the patent for at least one generation. The families of Sallantin,<sup>22</sup> Chretien,<sup>23</sup> Ithier,<sup>24</sup> Forqueray, Allari<sup>25</sup> and de Caix<sup>26</sup> should be named in this regard.

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18 Diane Adélaïde de Mailly (1713–1760) married to Louis de Brancas, Duc de Lauraguais, Duc et Pair de Villars; mistress of Louis XV and sponsor of the arts.

19 Charles Ernest Baron de Bagge (1722–1791), pupil of Tartini, since his move to Paris in 1750 sponsor and supporter of many musicians appearing in the *Concert spirituel* (Lidl, Capron, Graviniès, Viotti, Kreuzer), several long travels to get to know musical innovations.

20 Louis-Engelbert de la Marck (1701–1773), anecdote of the year 1746 “M. de la Marck is playing the bass viol. He has put himself to perform operas in which no actor is serving ...”

21 The heir to the throne, Louis, is playing harpsichord and violin, and has an organ in his office; princess Henriette prefers the viol, Adélaïde is learning the viol besides violin, cello and harpsichord, her younger sister Sophie is playing the *pardessus*.

22 Alexandre Sallantin (1695–1765) is like his father Michel (1661–1734) a viol player and becomes the successor of Vincent Marais as *violiste de la Chambre*; this might be a hint for the master-pupil connection with the family Marais.

23 Not much information can be found for Jean-Baptiste Chretien apart from his nomination as *joueur de viole* in 1755 and that he was also playing for the 24 violons du Roi.

The fact that princesses are playing the viol, as in a portrait of Henriette de France, and a noble woman, shows that, unlike the ‘cello, it was indeed socially accepted for women to play this instrument, in spite of its being held between the legs.

In October 1738 there is a rather remarkable quotation<sup>27</sup> regarding women playing the bass viol:

*Ainsi la fille de sieur de Caix, laquelle joue parfaitement bien la basse de viole, n’a pu être recue à la Chapelle et est à la Chambre avec 1.000 livres sur l’état du premier gentilhomme de la Chambre [...]*<sup>28</sup>

The writer is describing the fine playing of Marie-Anne Ursule de Caix (1715-1751), daughter of François-Joseph de Caix, who was teaching the king’s children in viol playing. But not only her ability as a viol player, but also her status as a professional is proved in this short text which describes payment through the *Chambre* for a performance in the chapel as a viol player.

### The music

There is confirmation that it was not only the suites by Forqueray which were composed in those later decades. As the catalogues of the publisher Le Clerc show, earlier prints, such as the books of Marais and Debuissou, were still being re-published. This leads to a hypothesis that the ‘classical’ repertoire was still being played after the death of the composers.

In this regard the manuscript F-Pn Vm7 1107 is very interesting: because it contains trio sonatas by Corelli (op. 1 to 4), and suites by Marais for 2 or 3 viols. Both composers were already long dead by the date of the manuscript. But their works were still being transcribed, which shows their continuing relevance. Further more it is remarkable to see that the upper voice is notated in violin clef, not, as usual in the prints of this time, in alto clef. At this time, the violin clef was in common use in Germany for the bass viol, but not in France. Even the Austrian composer Andreas Lidl notates his Paris-composed sonatas in alto clef.

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24 The family Ithier continues the tradition of both viol and lute playing. Until his death in 1755 Nicolas Ithier holds both positions at the court; his successor Jean-Baptiste Chretien instead becomes “just” *jouer de viol*.

25 Hilaire Verloge Alarius (ca. 1684–1734) serves as musician under Maximilian Emanuel von Bayern; he is quoted often as the most talented pupil of Marin Marais. He cannot be traced in the documents of the royal household, so he might not have held a position at the court.

26 François-Joseph de Caix is a viol player, for which five concerts in Versailles in 1735 are proof, and he was a teacher of the king. His son Barthélemy (born 1716) is also a viol player and composer. He lived in Lyon before becoming *ordinaire de musique* at the court, from 1755 he is notated as a *pardessus* teacher in the *Almanach musical*, and is recorded to have been the only pupil of the famous Madame Levy.

27 Dufourcq (ed.), *La Musique à la Cour de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.*, pp. 62ff.

28 Translation by the author: ‘So the daughter of Mr de Caix, who plays the bass viol perfectly well, couldn’t be admitted to the chapel and is in the chamber with 1.000 livres from the budget of the first nobleman of the Chamber [...]’.

Is this use of clef a hint for the performance on a treble instrument? Well, the title just says *pour deux violes*, but normally the music for *dessus* or *pardessus de viole* is quoted as such. Or is this the only proof of the ‘German’ clef use in France? The anonymous sonatas in the manuscript F-Pn Vm7 6297<sup>29</sup> are an important proof of the existence of virtuoso music for viol in the second half of the century. These compositions are written for 2 viols, where the first voice is clearly written as a solo part. They are pieces of the *Empfindsamkeit*. The technical level identifies the writing to be by a true viol player and shows the remarkable endurance of the art of viol after the “Golden age”.

Within quartet compositions, such as in the *Trattamento* by Schultze, chord playing and arpeggio writing for the instrument is technically demanding. Such characteristic writing for the instrument by the composer is as clear as the execution by a professional player that he is familiar with its techniques..

The compositions of the manuscripts F-Pn VMB MS-64<sup>30</sup> and F-Pn Vm7 6307<sup>31</sup> are, unlike the above works, technically less demanding. These are obviously books for teaching as the conception is planned and the dating develops. They also contain an explanation of the music signs and the signs for rests.

Finally there are transcriptions from operas to mention, which can also be found in manuscript form. This was a very popular practice, but for the viol we know just the well-known transcriptions for 2 viols by Ludwig Christian Hesse of French operas in Berlin. In the manuscript F-Pn Vm7 1107, which contains the previously mentioned trios by Corelli and Marais, can also be found *La tempête* from the opera *Alyone* by Marin Marais. The transcription is also for the same trio setting.

## Conclusion

Despite Hubert Le Blanc’s description of the decline of the importance of the viol around 1740, the instrument is still played in France until the end of the *Ancient Régime*, as music and biographical notices are proving. It is not only supported through the court environment with several positions as *joueur de viole* but also through private concerts and *soirées*, organized by nobles, where the viol retained importance as the handed-down repertoire suggests. This support of the high nobility is not just a financial one, or through dedications, as many of those nobles were also active players.

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29 Through a watermark the manuscript can be dated c.1750 and contains 6 sonatas. The 45 pages of score are written very clearly and include marks in another hand. The upper voice is notated in alto clef and the bass part in bass clef. The first 5 sonatas consist of four movements; only the last one has the more typical three. The technical level is demanding through arpeggios, double stops and passages in thirds. The ornaments and bowing signs are clearly in French as are the textual additions.

30 It starts with an explanation of the musical sign, rests and clefs. On the last page is a drawing of a pretty angel playing the bass viol. The first page is dated 22 october 1714, but at page 12 is written the composition *Hiver* by Morel, dated 1739.

31 This manuscript initially contains several pieces for viol, which are in a methodical order. Later it consists of fragments of composition for harpsichord.



Among illustrations of *amateurs* can be found several woman playing the bass viol; the best known is probably Henriette de France. The proof of female professional performers in this context enhances the already known high social acceptance of playing the bass viol for woman.

The catalogues and holdings of the former royal library lead us to suspect that the ‘classical’ French viol repertoire of suites by Marais, his contemporaries and the generation before him was still played as there are new copies of this repertoire from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Other new manuscript music from this period shows the high technical level of execution and playing on the viol.

## Appendix – Publications and manuscripts for *basse de viole* after 1728

The following list contains publications and manuscripts for *basse de viole* dated after 1728, which today are preserved at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. The list names first the title and further the RISM number after the arrow and in brackets the original editor, year and place. In square brackets an indication of the cast can be found, in italics are listed manuscripts and lost compositions are crossed out.

- *Anonym, Pièces de Viole avec la basse continue* – F-Pn Vm7 6297 □ Paris, manuscript ca. 1750
- *Anonym, Trio de Corelli et Pièces de Marais à deux et trois Violes* – F-Pn Vm7 1107 □ Paris, manuscript 1762
- ASTRAUDY (Hrsg.) □ *Recueil de pièces ... pour deux violes*: RISM Recueils imprimées 18<sup>e</sup> siècle p.331 (Paris, ca. 1760)
- Joseph Bodin de BOISMORTIER (1689-1755) □ *Cinq Sonates pour le violoncelle ou viole Op.26*: RISM B 3379, *Pièces de viole Op.31*: RISM B 3385, *Sonates pour deux*: RISM B 3393, *Sonates et sonate en trio*: RISM B 3401, *Petit Sonates suivies d’une Chaconne pour deux*: RISM B 3405 (Paris, Le Clerc, Boivin 1729, 1730, 1737, 1737-ca. 1742, 1730, 1732, 1734, 1736, 1737)
- Louis de CAIX D’HERVELOIS (ca.1680-1760) □ *Premier Livre de pièces de viole*: RISM C 38, *Deuxième Livre de pièces de viole*: RISM C 39, *Troisième Oeuvre ... Suites de pièces de viole*: RISM C 43, *IV<sup>e</sup> Livre de Pièces de Viole*: RISM C 45, *V<sup>e</sup> Livre de Pièces de Viole*: RISM C 46 (Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc 1731-1748)
- Jean Baptiste CAPPUS (bl.1730-’40) □ *Premier Livre de Pièces de Viole* RISM C 927 (Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc 1730), ~~*Second livre de Pièces de viole* (Paris, 1730-34) [lost]~~
- Michel CORRETTE (1709-1795) □ *Les Délices de la solitude. Sonates pour la viole Op.20*: RISM C 3986, *Le Phénix. Concert pour quatre*: RISM C 4022 (Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc ca.1739, 1737, 1738)
- François COUPERIN (1668-1733) □ *Pièces de Viole*: RISM C 4278 (Paris Boivin 1728)
- Charles DOLLÉ (bl.1735-55) □ *Pièces de Viole*: RISM D 3354 (Paris Le Clerc Mme Boivin 1737)
- ~~Du Boussac – *Livre de Viole: 1<sup>er</sup> livre* (Paris, Leclerc 1734) [lost]~~
- Giuseppe detto Saggione FEDELI (1680-1733) □ *Six Sonates à deux*: RISM F 158 (Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc 1733)

- Antoine FORQUERAY (1671-1745) □ *Pièces de Viole*: RISM F 1524, F 1525 RISM FF 1524, FFF 1525 (Paris, Le Clerc, Boivin 1747)
- Jean Baptiste Antoine FORQUERAY (1699-1782) □ *Pièces de Viole*: RISM F 1524, F 1525 (Paris, Le Clerc, Boivin 1747)
- Francois Le Cadet FRANCOEUR (1698-1787) □ *Sonate à trois*: RISM F 1806 (Paris, Boivin, Le Clerc)
- Francesco GUERINI (bl.1740-70) □ *Sonate à Violino con Viola da gamba*: RISM G 4849 (Paris, Le Clerc, Mme Boivin ca.1740)
- Jean-Pierre GUIGNON (1702-1774) □ *Sonates à deux*: RISM G 5043 (Paris, Le Clerc, Versailles 1737)
- Louis-Gabriel GUILLEMAIN (1705-1770) □ *Six Sonates en quatuor* RISM G 5083, RISM GG 5083 (Paris, Mme Boivin 1743), *Second livre de sonates en quatuor* RISM G 5087 (Paris, Mme Boivin 1756)
- Elisabeth-Claude JACQUET DE LA GUERRE, *Suonata a violino solo é viola di gamba obligata* - F-Pn Vm7 111; *Sonates en trio*, F-Pn Vm7 1110 □ *Paris, manuscript*
- Jean Marie L'Ainé LECLAIR (1697-1764) □ *Sonata à trois* RISM L 1313 (Paris, Mosson, Boivin, Le Clerc 1728)
- Andreas LIDL, *VI Sonates à Viola da gamba e Violoncello*. – F-Pn Vm7 6298 □ *Paris, manuscript*
- Andreas LIDL, *Divertissements à viola da gamba, viola e basso*. – F-Pn Vm7 6301 □ *Paris, manuscript*
- Roland MARAIS (1680-1750) □ *Premier livre de Pièces de Viole*: RISM M 403, RISM MM 403 (Paris, Boivin Le Clerc 1735), *Deuxieme livre de Pièces de Viole*: RISM M 404, RISM MM 404 (Paris, Boivin Le Clerc 1738)
- Simon Luc MARCHAND (1709-1799) □ *Pièces de clavecin avec la viole*: RISM M 472 (Paris, Mme. Boivin 1748)
- Jean Baptiste MASSE □ *Sonates à deux, Op.1*: RISM M 1300, *Sonates à deux, Op.2*: RISM M 1301, *Sonates en duo, Op.3*: RISM M 1302, *Menuets nouveaux pour deux*: RISM M 1305 (all Paris, Mme. Boivin, Le Clerc 1736-37)
- ~~J.B.Le Fils PRUNIER — *Premier & deuxième Concert a deux Flutes Traversieres & a Bec sans Basse, & avec Accompagnement de Basse et Violon* [lost]~~
- Jean-Baptiste Le Jeune QUENTIN (fl.1718-1750) □ *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties Op.8*: RISM Q 49, *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties, Op.9*: RISM Q 50, *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties, Op.10*: RISM Q 51, *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties, Op.11*: RISM Q 52, *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties Op.12*: RISM Q 53, *Sonates en trio et à quatre parties*: RISM Q 56, *Sonate et simphonies en trio et quatre parties, Op.17*: RISM Q 58 (all Paris, Mme. Boivin, Le Clerc after 1733, 1748)
- Jean-Philippe RAMEAU (1683-1764) □ *Pièces de clavecin en concert avec une viole*: RISM R 190-2, RISM RR 190 (Paris, Vve. Boivin, Le Clair 1741)
- ~~Jean Baptiste François SAINT-HELÈNE (1701-?) — *Suites de Pieces par Accords pour la Basse de viola* □ *Manuscript* [lost]~~
- Martin Christian SCHULTZE □ *Trattamento a quatro istrumenti*: RISM S 2343 RISM SS 2342 (Paris, Boivin, Leclerc 1733/4)
- Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) □ *Six Quatuors*: RISM T 427 (Paris, Leclerc 1736/7), *Nouveaux Quatuors*: RISM T 447 (Paris, 1738), RISM TT 447, RISM TT 447a

- Wenzel THOMAS □ *Premier livre. Sonates à deux*: RISM T 697 (Paris, Vve. Boivin, Le Clerc 1735)
- Alexandre de VILLENEUVE (1677-1756) □ *Conversations en manière de sonates pour deux*: RISM V 1569-70 (Paris, Boivin, Leclerc 1733)

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## Review-article

### Morley and the Book Trade

JOHN MILSOM\*

Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher*  
(Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014)  
(ISBN 978 1 84383 960 6)

\* I am grateful to Kate van Orden, Jessie Ann Owens and Christopher Page for commenting on earlier versions of this text. The view expressed are however my own, and I bear responsibility for any errors.

The name of Thomas Morley brings to mind a composer and church musician who wrote a work of music theory; but Tessa Murray's new book reminds us that Morley was also a businessman who took advantage of the printing press variously as a composer, a patent holder, a publisher and, in the years 1599-1601, possibly as a printer in his own right. In fact, if Murray's calculations are correct, Morley could have more than doubled his income through the book trade in the last decade of his life, leaving behind him an impressive array of items including partbook sets of canzonets, ballets, madrigals, psalms and consort lessons, tablebook-format collections of ayres and psalms, and the celebrated textbook *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*. Murray's own background is in business, and this serves her well in this carefully researched book, the substance of which arises from the analysis of figures as well as facts. Her exposition is lucid at every turn, and it scrupulously separates fact from speculation, never leaving the reader in any doubt about where documented facts give way to guesswork. The assembled facts are definitely useful to have. Whether or not Murray's calculations of Morley's possible profits are equally welcome is another matter, and certainly they invite debate.

In overview, the book begins with a survey of Morley's life; this quotes all known documents relating directly to the man, and some new ones that shed light on his family, his Norwich background and his subsequent London career. A section follows on the market for notated music in late Tudor England; it considers the extent of musical literacy, and surveys the rise of English music printing in relation to an emerging market. At the heart of the book lie three chapters dealing variously with Morley as holder of the music-printing patent, Morley as publisher, and Morley as printer; supporting them are five appendices giving further documentation, details and analysis. Then come two chapters looking more closely at Morley's publications themselves. Finally, Murray considers the trajectory of music publishing in England in the decades following Morley's death in 1602, and evaluates his legacy. An excellent bibliography reinforces an impression left by the

book itself – namely that Murray has read very widely indeed when researching this project.

Without question, the most original and provocative parts of this book are the ones that deal with money. In her central chapters, Murray pays close attention to the economics of music publishing, and specifically to the need to balance the books between expenditure on the one hand, income (and profit or loss) on the other. This is a subject that is notoriously hard for historians of Tudor culture to research, for the simple reason that so little relevant documentation survives; and it should be said at once that Murray, notwithstanding the diligence of her search, brings little information to the table that is both new and relevant. The originality of her work therefore lies mainly in the ways she interprets familiar documents. Four issues are of key importance to her calculations. The first is the question of how much it costs to create a sheet of printed music – and, by extension, to produce a book made up of multiple sheets. Second is the length of the print-run, *i.e.* the number of copies printed of any edition. Third is the retail price of the finished book – new rather than secondhand, and unbound rather than bound. Fourth is how to establish where the break-even point lay, and to decide whether or not it was passed. No ledgers survive to shed light on any of these issues, so Murray must do her best with the odd few scraps of evidence that exist. As the following remarks explain, these scraps can be hard to interpret.

The richest source of information comes from the celebrated series of legal cases involving George Eastland and Thomas East with regard to the printing of John Dowland's *The second booke of songs or ayres* in 1600, a year in which Morley held the music patent. Murray cites this dispute on many occasions, but she never gives an overview of all the relevant facts; so here they are.<sup>1</sup> East, the book's printer, claimed to have sold the commissioned print-run of 1000 copies of *The second booke* to the book's publisher Eastland at 'about twelve pence a peece'; his actual production cost per copy, calculated by East's own detailed breakdown, was actually 11.42d, marginally under his stated 'twelve pence'.<sup>2</sup> Each copy of *The second booke* occupied 12.5 sheets, so each sheet had cost East roughly 0.91d to produce and sell on to Eastland. Again according to East, printed music of this complexity was typically sold 'for two pence the sheet or under', *i.e.* roughly double the production cost; but Eastland evidently tried to sell unbound copies of *The second booke* at 4s 6d each, placing the value of each sheet at 4.32d, *i.e.* almost five times the production cost. At this level of mark-up, Eastland would have needed to sell fewer than 250 copies (*i.e.* a quarter of the print-run) to cover his costs; the rest would be pure profit; and he could also expect a financial reward from Lucy Harington, countess of Bedford, to whom the book was dedicated. How Eastland actually fared is unknown, but in 1601 he claimed to have sold few copies, and the book never passed through a second edition. East's testimony also allows us to

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, 4th ser., 12 (1932), 365-80.

<sup>2</sup> All monetary sums are expressed in £.s.d. (pounds, shillings, pence), where £1 = 20s and 1s = 12d.

calculate the production costs more precisely. The 0.91d per sheet included payments to Mrs Dowland for her husband's manuscript, and to Morley and Christopher Heybourn as holders of the music patent; East again records the sums involved. If these payments are excluded, then the actual production cost for East (possibly including profit) was close to 0.34d per sheet. Thus we can see how a sheet of printed music changed value from up to 0.34d to create, to 0.91d with overheads, to 2d or less as a typical retail value, to 4.32d as Eastland hoped to achieve.

Marvellous as it is to have these figures, it is hard to know how typical they are of music printing in late Elizabethan England at large. Are they characteristic or are they exceptional? Murray assumes the former, and she bases most of her calculations of Morley's business success on evidence drawn from the East-Eastland litigation. But was she wise to do so? Possibly not, for various reasons.

First, we need to ask whether the cost of typesetting Dowland's *The second booke of songs or ayres*, and indeed English books of ayres in general, might have been uncharacteristically high because of their extreme typographical complexity. Not only did the lute tablature have to be pieced together from myriad fragments of movable type; the tablature then had to be aligned in score with the cantus voice, which itself comprised staff notation carefully aligned with text-underlay. Any modern typesetter trying to replicate this work will find it exceptionally slow and intricate, calling for time, skill, patience, and multiple proofing before being ready for the press. By comparison, most of Morley's own compositions were more straightforward to typeset; only his *The first booke of ayres* (1600) was roughly comparable, and even this uses a simpler technology for setting the tablature.<sup>3</sup> Thus East's costs for producing Dowland's *Second booke* may not be a good guide for calculating Morley's expenditure on typesetting in general.

Second is the matter of edition size. We know that Eastland commissioned 1000 copies of Dowland's *The second booke of songs or ayres*, but we do not know for a fact that this was typical of late Tudor music-books at large.<sup>4</sup> *The second booke* evidently rode on the success of Dowland's *The first booke of songs or ayres*, which presumably exhausted its initial print-run (size unknown) within three years of first publication in 1597, since a second edition was issued in 1600. Eastland may therefore have

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<sup>3</sup> Murray (113-14) repeats the view of others that Morley's tablature involved the use of woodblocks, but it is in fact composed entirely in metal. Long single rules, which represent the courses, alternate with lines of tablature letters set in movable type. This system would have been simpler to typeset than East's fount of tablature, in which each letter is cast with a single short rule below, the latter representing segments of courses; the sorts were then stacked vertically, and the remainder of the courses made up of segments of metal rules without letters. East's technology, which called for a more extensive fount of sorts than did Morley's, would have been hard or impossible for the compositor to arrange on a composing stick; it might also have required some filing of the sorts before use.

<sup>4</sup> The temptation to turn to music printed outside England for evidence of edition size should probably be resisted, on the grounds that many European publications were suitable and even intended for export across national borders, whereas English-language publications could effectively only address a home market because English was barely understood abroad.

sensed a good business opportunity here, and risked a large print-run accordingly – but with a low break-even point. Whether or not other publishers regularly took such a risk is unknown, but Murray inclines to believe that they did so, partly on the grounds that one other publication – the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575 – is widely thought also to have had a print-run of up to 1000 copies. If this number is correct both for the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae* and Dowland's *Second booke* of 1600, then maybe it is true too of other Elizabethan music-books.

Alas, the assumed run of around 1000 copies of *Cantiones sacrae* has itself now been called into question.<sup>5</sup> The debate arises from an entry in an inventory of the printer Henry Bynneman's possessions, made shortly after his death in 1583; it refers to 'bookes of Birdes and Tallis musicke in number seaven hundred and seaventene xliiij<sup>h</sup> xliiij<sup>s</sup> [£44.14s]'.<sup>6</sup> In the past (and in Murray's book) this has been taken to refer solely to copies of the *Cantiones sacrae*, leading to three conclusions: (1) up to 1000 copies had been printed; (2) 717 of them remained unsold eight years after publication; and (3) the venture was therefore a publishing failure. However, this entry in the Bynnemann inventory is unusual in not making reference to a book's specific title; it places an exceptionally high value on this item; and the entry is placed early in the inventory, well apart from the entries for other stocks of unsold books, which are listed by individual title. It therefore seems more likely that 'bookes of Birdes and Tallis musicke' in fact refers to a stock of printed music, including items imported from abroad, which Tallis and Byrd held the exclusive rights to sell in England under the terms of their royal patent of 1575, and which Bynnemann handled as their agent. If so, then this entry tells us nothing about how many copies of *Cantiones sacrae* were printed, nor whether they all sold, nor whether the venture made a profit or a loss.

By now it should be clear why Murray faces insurmountable problems when trying to calculate Thomas Morley's successes or failures in the book trade. We do not know how many copies of any of his titles were printed. We do not know how much it cost per sheet to produce any of his books. We do not know the retail prices of those books in their unbound state, nor the sales figures, nor the break-even points. Murray asks many excellent questions, and her ways of making calculations are impressively logical. It is just that we possess no firm facts, and cannot draw with confidence on evidence or assumptions relating to cases such as the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones sacrae* or Dowland's *Second booke of songs*.

Returning, then, to an earlier question: should we welcome Murray's financial calculations, and the tentative conclusions she draws from them?<sup>7</sup> Had her book been a work of semi-fiction, equivalent to (say) Hilary Mantel's novels about Thomas Cromwell, then unquestionably they would have been welcome, since

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<sup>5</sup> For a fuller discussion of what follows, see *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. J. Milsom, *Early English Church Music*, 56 (2014), xxvii–xxx.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Eccles, 'Bynneman's Books', *The Library*, 5th ser., 12 (1957), 81–92 (at 83).

<sup>7</sup> See in particular the sections headed 'Morley's publishing revenue' (107–9, including Table 3), 'Financial returns from printing' (118–20, including Table 5), and Appendix 3, 'Conjectural Lifetime Income for Morley from Publishing his Works' (194–5).

they directly address the economic realities of the book trade as faced by Thomas Morley. But as a work of scholarship her study may mislead, no matter how often Murray repeats that her figures draw on conjecture. Her account leaves us with the impression that Morley may have more than doubled his income through the book trade in the last decade of his life. Whether or not he did so is quite unknown, and as matters stand unknowable.

That being said, Murray's book is in many ways immensely useful to have. This is partly because it gathers together so much useful information, partly because it focusses on matters that tend to be overlooked, and partly because it stimulates further thought and discussion. The following remarks, for instance, arise from a reading of Murray's chapter on Morley as printer, and from her observation (102) that printed music was more costly to buy (and therefore presumably more costly to produce) than most other kinds of printed material. Others before her have tentatively floated this idea.<sup>8</sup> If it is true, why?

In order to produce music prints, Morley and his assign William Barley needed access to the following: (1) founts of movable type, including symbols for mensural notation and tablature, plus other metal and woodblock components required to set individual pages; (2) at least one compositor, ideally someone conversant with mensural notation and the common tablaturs; (3) at least one printing press; (4) paper and ink; (5) at least one pressman per printing press, ideally two; and (6) premises with space for the press, pressmen, compositors and storage. Murray draws our attention to the arrangements at Europe's larger printing houses, specifically ones that produced literary texts, where a pair of compositors might work in tandem with a pair of pressmen. Each day, each compositor could typically set one forme (*i.e.* the type needed to print one side of the sheet), and each day the pressmen could typically print both sides of a sheet for the whole of its print-run of around 1000 copies. In an ideal world, the speed of typesetting kept pace with the process of printing, and in theory no one stood idle. A process of proof-reading and correction would also exist. The question is: did Morley and Barley run such an operation?

Taking the points one by one: Morley and Barley certainly made use of a seemingly unique music fount, so they may well have owned it, and perhaps even commissioned it.<sup>9</sup> They may or may not have kept their own stock of paper – a point to be discussed below. Whether or not they acquired a printing press is unknown; nor is there any record of them employing compositors and pressmen, or of dedicating specific premises to printing; and in truth, the small number of publications they issued could hardly have justified the cost of so much equipment and space, and so many wages. Murray (p. 116) posits a work-force of four men, and wonders if their days were partly filled by producing quires of printed staves,

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<sup>8</sup> See for instance the following remark: 'An edition of polyphonic music cost an average of three times more than a general work': Henri Vanhulst, 'Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin, Distributor of Polyphonic Music in Antwerp (1566-1578)', in *Musicology and Archival Research*, ed. Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans and André Vanrie (Brussels, 1994), 558-604 (at 571).

<sup>9</sup> D. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London, 1975), 86-8.



such as occur in so many late Tudor music manuscripts; but frankly this would not have consumed much more time or effort. Such a team could of course have taken on other jobs of a non-musical kind, but to imagine this would be to build one speculation upon another, with no documentary evidence to prove any of it.

An alternative scenario, not considered by Murray, is that Morley and Barley ran an operation that could *typeset* their publications, but outsourced the actual *printing* to other houses.<sup>10</sup> This practice, though undocumented, would make both ergonomic and financial sense, since it would have allowed the music pages to be typeset, proofread and corrected at leisure, unpressurized by the need to keep the pressmen busy. Admittedly it would also raise a question that has long vexed bibliographers – namely whether pages of type, while still in galleys, were ever inked and impressed on paper to take an informal proof. Opinions vary about this;<sup>11</sup> but for once, evidence from music bibliography may be able to contribute to the broader bibliographical debate, as the following remarks explain.

A new critical edition is currently being made of Morley's *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*, and this has involved close study of more than forty extant copies of the original 1597 edition, in search of stop-press corrections and other adjustments made to the sheets before the book was put up for sale.<sup>12</sup> A large number of stop-press corrections have indeed come to light, but they almost never occur on pages containing whole compositions (*i.e.*, the duos, *Christes crosse*, and the motets and canzonets presented in tablebook format), and they are also almost absent from the many pages filled with examples of cadences notated in score. It would seem, then, that these particular pages containing only music notation had been proof-read with care *before* they were locked into the forme. Logically, this would have been done from galley proofs. If this is true of *A plaine and easie introduction*, then it might also be true of the Morley/Barley publications, which were created soon afterwards. All the two men would have needed was various founts, a compositor (or more than one) working to their order – not necessarily in their full-time employ – and typesetting equipment up to the point of galleys, from which informal proofs could be taken and read. A close typographical study of their books might help support or dismiss this theory. Murray herself does not attempt one, so here is a task waiting for somebody else to do.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This runs counter to the titlepages of the Morley/Barley editions. The following formulation from John Bennet's *Madrigalls to foure voyces* (1599) is typical: 'Printed in little Saint Hellens [= at or near Morley's residence in Bishopsgate] by William Barley, the Assigne of Thomas Morley'. At face value, this should mean what it says: 'Printed in little Saint Hellens'. By the new hypothesis, however, it could mean 'Typeset in little Saint Hellens, but printed elsewhere'.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance the comments by Harry Carter in the reprinted edition of P. Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1970), viii-ix.

<sup>12</sup> The new Morley edition is being edited by John Milsom and Jessie Ann Owens, and will be published by Ashgate probably in 2016.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that the four extant leaves of James Rowbotham's otherwise lost gittern tutor of 1568/9 (STC 15486.5) are galley proofs. One of the leaves, now in the University of Pennsylvania Library, is printed with non-consecutive pages on its two sides; this implies that each side of the

There may also be scope for a more probing analysis of the paper used in these books. According to Murray's Appendix 4, watermarks in the Morley/Barley prints often vary within an edition. This could be because Morley and Barley had acquired oddments of paper stock; but it might also be because one or more unnamed printers were working on their behalf, using whatever paper came to hand. The latter theory would be especially appealing if sheets for the Morley/Barley editions had been produced at different times by different printers, who slotted in work for them as required or during slack periods. It is now certain that Elizabethan printing shops did often take on odd jobs; also that the constituent sheets of some books were printed by two or more different shops, irrespective of what a titlepage might declare.<sup>14</sup> All these possibilities need to be borne in mind for the Morley/Barley titles; all could have had an impact on the economics of their business.

Finally, here are some thoughts about the supposedly high price of producing and purchasing printed music. Strictly speaking, music cannot have been costly to *print*, since it would barely matter to the pressmen what their formes contained, music or otherwise. Nor is it likely that the *paper* was unusually expensive relative to non-musical works. If high costs arose, then surely their source must lie elsewhere. Sometimes music may have been expensive to procure from a composer or an owner, and sometimes dues were payable to the holder of a patent, such as Morley. But the most likely cause of expense must surely have been the high costs of (1) typesetting (2) the specialist type itself.

With these thoughts in mind, it is worth returning to the printing of Dowland's *The second booke of songs or ayres*. This book was registered at Stationers' Hall on 15 July 1600, and the print-run of 1000+ copies was achieved by 2 August 1600.

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leaf had been used to make a test impression, with no aim of incorporating the resulting leaf into a copy of the finished book. The leaf is reproduced in John M. Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick: Notes on the Cittern, Gittern and Guitar in 16th- and 17th-Century England', *The Lute Society Journal*, 21 (1979-81), plates V and VI (following p. 16). A fuller discussion of Rowbothum's tutor, with images of all the extant leaves, will appear in Christopher Page's forthcoming book on *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History*, chapter 4 ('An instruction to the Gitterne'). I am grateful to Professor Page for letting me see this chapter before publication, and for verifying that the tablature featured in these proofs is error-free; this implies either that they are corrected proofs, or that they had been typeset with commendable accuracy from the start. By a remarkable coincidence, two discarded proof leaves also survive from a near-contemporary continental lute-book, *Theatrum musicum, longe amplissimum* (Louvain, 1571), though this time in page proofs with manuscript corrections, rather than in hypothetical galley proofs; see H. Vanhulst, 'A Fragment of a Lost Lutebook Printed by Phalèse (Louvain, c1575)', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 40 (1990), 57-80 (at 58-62). The fact that both sides of the Phalèse sheets bear proof impressions suggests that two presses had been used, one to print the outer forme of the sheet, the other to perfect it with the inner forme, and that proofs were taken and corrected immediately before printing of each sheet began in earnest.

<sup>14</sup> For the complex realities of printing shop practices, see *inter alia* D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1-75; and P. Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs': Broadsides and the Printing Revolution', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston MA, 2007), 315-41.

Murray (116) therefore inclines to the view that the printing process itself took about ten days. However, nobody would contest that the printed content of this publication – tablebook layout, with lute tablature carefully aligned under the cantus part – is highly complex. East himself testified that ‘[typeset] musicke of as greate skill or knowledge is sould for two pence the sheete or under’; presumably the phrase ‘of as greate skill or knowledge’ indicates that Dowland’s *The second booke* had required much time and effort for the compositors to set. Yet the printed outcome of the finished book, if not perfect, is relatively error-free. Could East’s compositors really have achieved this quality of product in only ten days? Or had they in fact been hard at work for weeks or months beforehand, setting and proofing the music pages in galleys in readiness for handing over to the pressmen? If so, then their labour alone could have justified a high wholesale value and an even higher retail price – and the compositors would also have needed a large quantity of type in order to have everything ready in advance. Nothing can be proved; but the possibility should at least be considered.

Remaining with production costs: the dispute with Eastland shows that it had cost East roughly 0.34d to produce each sheet of Dowland’s *The second booke*. This sum can be compared with price-per-sheet valuations that were made some years ago by John Barnard and Maureen Bell with regard to the non-music stock from the Bynneman inventory of 1583. If the Bynneman analyses are correct, then the very highest of these valuations – admittedly made seventeen years before 1600, and of unsold stock – is 0.31d per sheet; and even this is probably a wholesale valuation, not an estimate of the actual printing costs, which presumably would have been significantly lower.<sup>15</sup> Here, then, is strong evidence that a music publication such as Dowland’s *The second booke* was indeed relatively costly to produce, conceivably not because of paper, ink, presswork, or payments to Mrs Dowland or Morley, but rather because of the cost of typesetting and the type itself. Whether or not all-vocal works such as madrigals were equally expensive to typeset is, of course, another matter – as is the question of whether small-scale London music publishers such as East and Morley mirrored the finances of major European firms specializing in music, such as Phalèse or Gardano.<sup>16</sup> Clearly Tessa Murray’s book can lead us only so far along the road to addressing a complex issue such as this one. Nonetheless it does stimulate further probing into the murky economics of early modern music printing, and for that reason alone it must be warmly welcomed.

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<sup>15</sup> John Barnard and Maureen Bell, ‘The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): A Preliminary Survey’, *Publishing History*, 29 (1991), 5–46 (at 10).

<sup>16</sup> Opinions vary about the speed at which an experienced compositor could typeset a page of texted vocal polyphony; see Richard Agee’s discussion of this subject in *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester NY and Woodbridge, 1998), 42–3, and the literature he cites there. It stands to reason that the duration and cost of the process would have increased relative to the pains taken by a compositor to achieve precise alignment of syllables and notes. Thus an edition in which words and music are only loosely aligned must have taken less time to set than one in which the alignment is scrupulous and accurate.

# Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

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*Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.*

Edited by David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, with the assistance of Julia R. Dokter.

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The idea of networking is very much with us today. As recently as October 2014, BBC Radio 4 featured a series of fifteen-minute talks on 'Networking Nation' by Julia Hobsbawm, Britain's first Professor of Networking. The speaker traced the idea back to London's coffee houses in the seventeenth century and at one point noted research showing that even in our electronically-connected age, face-to-face encounters remain the most effective way of keeping in touch, both socially and within one's fields of interest. Intriguingly, the book under review had its origins in a meeting over coffee between Hank Knox of McGill University, Montreal and his former student Rachelle Taylor. Their conversation turned to the idea of an event involving keyboard performers and scholars in an exploration of the links between Jan Pieterse Sweelinck and Peter Philips. Two other scholars, Pieter Dirksen and David J. Smith (authorities respectively on Sweelinck and Philips) were soon enlisted and in the end two conferences were organized, the first at McGill in February 2011 concentrating on keyboard music, and the other at the University of Aberdeen less than a month later 'with an expanded focus on cultural networks' (p. xxv; Foreword by Hank Knox). This book contains a selection of the proceedings from these two symposia. With fourteen chapters by fifteen authors, it uncovers connections of various kinds: between composers or compositions or musical sources, and between or within courts or cities or countries. 'Networking' certainly proves a valid and flexible concept in drawing together a rather disparate collection of essays. As for the book's title, *Networks in European Music and Culture, c.1580 – 1630* might have served better, being both more informative and more concise.

With the exception of Chapter 1 ('Introduction') the titles of the contributions also tend to be on the lengthy side, and have to be abbreviated in the running titles at the top of the right-hand pages. (Perhaps the editors were over-anxious to include some form of the word 'network' wherever possible!) The most succinct of the titles is Pieter Dirksen's 'Orlando Gibbons's Keyboard Music: The Continental Perspective'. Even that, however, is reduced to *Orlando Gibbons's Keyboard Music* in the running titles.

The first-named editor, David J. Smith, contributes the first two chapters. His 'Introduction' skilfully weaves in references to all the ensuing chapters, alongside comments on the various kinds of network that existed in late Renaissance and early Baroque Europe. He views the history of music 'as a web of connected networks, rather than a chain of progressive

developments' (p. 10). This philosophy underlies his second chapter, 'The Interconnection of Religious, Social and Musical Networks: Creating a Context for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips and its Dissemination'. Notwithstanding that 'Contexts for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips' might have sufficed, the essay does fulfil the promises of its long title, exploring the evidence for Philips's connections with individuals in the Catholic recusant movement, and with other composers such as Sweelinck, Byrd, Morley, and Tomkins. Links between composers are of course sometimes evident in the music. For example, Tomkins's early A minor Pavan has similarities to Philips's *Dolorosa* Pavan (said to have been composed 'in prison' at The Hague in 1593). Not only do both pieces exist in versions for consort and keyboard, but both include in their third strains passages permeated by stepwise chromatic fourths (ascending in Philips, descending in Tomkins). Smith suggests that Tomkins 'composed his own chromatic pavan as a tribute to the older composer' (p. 28) and that Philips then repaid the compliment by making a keyboard setting from one of the consort versions of Tomkins's piece. The marginal comment in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Tr) text of the Tomkins pavan, 'Makn. [?] La. Philip. Do.' seems not to mean that the copyist (Tregian?) received it as a donation from Philips, but rather is intended to draw attention to the link with the *Dolorosa* Pavan, as proposed by Rachelle Taylor (n. 75 on p. 27). It might have been added in support of Taylor's observation that the annotation in Tr is placed just ahead of the point where the chromatic motive in Tomkins's pavan begins. Another kind of network explored in this discussion of Philips and his instrumental music is that formed by the multifarious sources for his '1580 Pavan' – both English and continental, manuscript and printed, and encompassing arrangements for five-part consort, mixed consort, keyboard, lute, and solo voice with accompaniment. Probably none of these versions apart from the one in Tr had anything to do with Philips himself; indeed, many of them are corrupt to a greater or lesser degree. But they do indicate that this modest work – written before the composer was 20 years old – had a wide appeal, achieving an international status second only to that of Dowland's *Lachrimae* Pavan.

Chapter 3, by Emilie Corswarem, offers a new account of the *Liber fratrum cruciferorum Leodiensium* ('The [Organ-]Book of the Crutched Friars of Liège'), previously described by Thurston Dart in *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 17 (1963), pp. 21-28. Corswarem helpfully identifies Liège as 'an enclave located at the place where three territories, those of the Spanish Netherlands, France and the United (Dutch Protestant) provinces bordered one another' (p. 31); the city maintained a policy of neutrality yet had a plethora of churches and religious orders, one of which, the Crutched Friars, had been active there since 1273. The manuscript (Lg) is the only one of its kind to survive from the Liège house of the Crutched Friars. Apparently copied between 1593 and 1617 or later, it includes *unica* by Sweelinck and Philips and has a few organ registrations. Corswarem accepts Dart's view that the hand is that of Gerard Scronx (to whom one piece is attributed: the relevant page, f. 40v, is reproduced on p. 41), and that he was probably the sole scribe. Neither Dart nor Corswarem includes a complete inventory of the manuscript, but its contents amply demonstrate a two-way network between Liège and the Brussels court, elegantly described as a 'conversation between two cities: a great metropolis – the city of Brussels – and a more circumscribed urban center which, nevertheless, was host to an active musical milieu' (p. 47). Two details: an anonymous fantasia on f. 37 (no. 28) uses crossed hands, a rare device found also in a short section of Bull's *Walsingham* variations. Corswarem says that 'Thurston Dart proposed John Bull as the composer of no. 28' (p. 39, n. 44), but in fact Dart was careful not to do that, noting that no surviving work of Bull's uses cross-handing as consistently as the piece

in Lg. Secondly, on p. 47 (n. 85) we read that ‘there is no proof that Peter Philips went to Amsterdam [in 1593]’: this seems to contradict the evidence of the ‘Letters containing information about Philips’s journey to Amsterdam’ listed by David Smith in Table 2.1 on p. 12.

The gist of Chapter 4, by Anne Lyman, is that Philips’s three collections of few-voiced motets, published in Antwerp in 1613, 1616 and 1628, may well have been written for the Confraternity of Our Lady, a guild of the great and good associated with the church of Sint-Goedele in Brussels [now the Cathedral of St Michael and St Gudula]. Sint-Goedele was situated a short distance north of the Coudenberg Palace, occupied from 1599 by Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella. ‘The Archdukes often favoured the vast, public space of Sint-Goedele above that of their own private chapel, especially for the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi’ (p. 50). After Albert’s death in 1621 Isabella had a street constructed (the Rue d’Isabelle) linking the palace to the church, and she took a renewed interest in the Confraternity, having it re-dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption and enabling it to grow in numbers and wealth. Lyman’s contribution is largely concerned with archival evidence for the singing of few-voiced motets at Sint-Goedele. We learn little about the motets themselves beyond the fact that some of them are scored for one or two soprano voices and a bass voice; the Bibliography further tells us (at pp. 272-273) that the *Gemmulae sacrae* of 1613 and the *Deliciae sacrae* of 1616 are for two or three voices *cum basso continuo ad organum*, and the *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* of 1628 are for one, two or three voices *cum basso generali ad organum*. Later issues of all three collections appeared between 1621 and 1641, but they still await comprehensive modern editions: support, perhaps, for David Smith’s contention (p. 2) that as an émigré Philips has tended to be regarded as irrelevant in the story of English music, and, equally, overlooked by continental music historians.

Chapter 5, by Naomi J. Barker, is something of a digression, with the arresting running title *The Ear of the Lynx*. In early seventeenth-century Rome there were many ‘academies’ of well-heeled clerics and artists taking an interest in the natural and classical worlds, and in particular the tuning systems of ancient instruments. One such was the Accademia dei Lincei, founded in 1603, with which the composer Frescobaldi may have been associated through his patron Francesco Barberini. Barker suggests that Frescobaldi’s use of certain chromatic figures in his instrumental music (notably an expressive gapped chromatic fourth, such as *g – e – e-flat – d*) might have resulted from his involvement with this scholarly network. That may well be the case, though such things cannot be proved and the roots of distinctive musical ideas will always remain elusive. One is reminded of J. S. Bach’s joining, in 1747, Lorenz Mizler’s Societät der Musicalischen Wissenschaften – an action which in hindsight has been more beneficial to the Society (in terms of its continuing appearance in accounts of Bach’s life) than to the composer.

Back in home territory, Chapter 6, by Rachelle Taylor and Frauke Jürgensen, is a comparative study of the Passamezzo Pavans and Galliards by Byrd and Philips (concentrating on the galliards). An introductory section pays tribute to the over-arching theme of the book by drawing together evidence to connect Byrd to Morley, Philips and the Pagets. It is well known that pavans and galliards based on the passamezzo antico ground are sets of variations, rather than having the usual three strains; the passamezzo dance pieces by Byrd and Philips (and Morley) all have final G with a one-flat key-signature, the last note of the ground (G) each time being marked (or clearly intended to be played) with a *tierce de*

*Picardie*. Byrd's passamezzo pair probably dates from the 1580s, appearing in the Nevell book of 1591. Philips's pavan is dated 1592 in Tr and has two galliards, the second one (in Tr) evidently a reworking and expansion of the first (in the continental source Kr). As a starting point Taylor and Jürgensen take Oliver Neighbour's comments quoted on p. 80, that '[Philips's] settings are full of similar figures and fleeting reminiscences [of Byrd's pieces. Philips] acknowledged an emulative intention by writing one more variation in his pavan, seven to Byrd's six'. The authors demonstrate in detail, and neatly summarize, Philips's creation of a 'commentary' on Byrd's galliard, ending with an apt mention of 'the "so-there" of the *saltarello*' (p. 88). But there is a missed opportunity here, since Philips's handling of codas shows an imaginative development of Byrd's practice. Byrd's galliard has nine variations; in the Musica Britannica edition, barred in 3/2 (as are Philips's galliards), the final G major harmony of each variation occupies two bars, except for variation 9, where it is expanded to three (G – C – G). In his earlier galliard (with seven variations) Philips takes up the idea, expanding the final G – G to G – C – D – D – G (five bars, the last with a *senza misura* extension). More remarkable is the revised galliard, with eight variations followed by the *saltarella* [*sic*]; this is shown in the source as two sections numbered 9 and 10, but it runs on continuously from the single 3/2 bar of G at the end of variation 8 for a further 36 bars, still in 3/2 time, with just a few elements of varied repetition. The ground is now absent, so this passage can be seen as a longer elaboration of a final tonic chord. The accidentals in Tr, accurately reflected in Musica Britannica, are nevertheless suspect (as they often are in this source). It is effective to treat this *saltarella* as essentially in G major, except in bars 133-141 with their impressive bass descent from *b*-flat to *D*; here the sharps to *b'* in bars 135 and 138-139 (written beneath the notes, possibly later) seem erroneous. From bar 144 onwards it is best to play all B's as natural, and F's as sharp except in 144, 147, and 154 – as in the fine recording of the work by Paul Nicholson (Hyperion, CDA66734).

Julia R. Dokter's essay – with another engaging running title, *Musical Rhetoric: Lost in Translation* – opens with an excellent brief account of Amsterdam as an international hub of financial and cultural activity. Moving from large canvas to scrutiny of detail she then sets out to find a suitable title for an untitled set of variations on a psalm-tune by Sweelinck. The melody in question is the one most familiar today as 'O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross'. Dokter lists twelve late sixteenth-century sources for the tune, with texts in French, Dutch, German, Latin and English; it variously served for metrical versions of psalms 36, 68 and 113. She concludes (confirming the opinion of Pieter Dirksen based on less specific evidence) that Sweelinck had in mind Clément Marot's French version of psalm 36, 'Le malin le meschant vouloir'. The evidence is in Sweelinck's careful use of musical-rhetorical figures, which especially in the first two of the three verses match the words of Marot's French translation much more closely than those in any of the other languages. Sweelinck used this same French text in his three-verse vocal setting of 'Pseaume 36'. It would appear to be a watertight case.

By way of contrast, Chapters 8 and 10 (here considered together) take different approaches to the tricky topic of doubtful attributions – an area where there are more questions than answers. In Chapter 8, 'What is a Composer? Questions of Attribution in Keyboard Music from the Circle of Philips and Sweelinck', David Schulenberg begins by reminding us that the notion of a definitive text emanating at a particular time from a named composer is rarely appropriate for the repertory of early seventeenth-century keyboard music. The pieces printed in *Parthenia* may have been carefully prepared by their composers, but works

transmitted in multiple manuscript copies almost invariably show variants in texture or figuration – sometimes slight, sometimes quite extensive, sometimes due to revisions by the original or by another composer, and sometimes the result of scribal intervention. Schulenberg considers selected problem pieces under the headings toccatas, fantasias, dances and intabulations, taking account both of stylistic features and the perceived reliability of the attributions in a given source. He is far from dogmatic in his conclusions, with some of which some may disagree. He endorses Alexander Silbiger's suggestion that the 'Toccata di Roma' attributed to 'hierominio ferabosco' in Me (GB-Lbl Add. MS 23623) is actually by Frescobaldi: 'not exactly unfinished, but not yet ready for publication in print' (p. 121). Bull's 'God Save the King' is not in Me, as stated on p. 125, and the edition of it is in MB 14, not MB 27 (p. 125, n. 42); yet the author must be right to suggest that its alternative ending in the important Sweelinck source Ly was added by 'a later musician' so that the piece would end 'in the proper mode' (p. 125). He does not mention the attributions in Ly to 'Joann Pieters' and 'J. P. S.', which point to Sweelinck himself as 'the last musician who ... contributed to the text' (p. 126). Schulenberg claims that the Fantasia 3<sup>a</sup> (terza) attributed to Bull in Me but to 'Chappel' in Me's index is actually a third setting of Palestrina's 'Vestiva i colli', and therefore likely to be by Bull; in the manuscript it follows Bull's two settings (edited in MB 14, 8 and 9). However, the subject of the mono-thematic Fantasia terza does not actually appear in Palestrina's madrigal: its composer may have taken it from bars 16-24 of Bull's first setting, and it is altogether more likely that it was composed by someone else, perhaps the Antwerp musician Goduart van Kappel mentioned on p. 131 (n. 60). Similarly, the Pavan and Galliard 'simphonie', ascribed to 'Chappel'/'Chappelle' in Me's index, have structural similarities to Bull's genuine 'simphonie' pair (in MB 19, 68), but seem, to this writer at least, too pedestrian to be by Bull. A final example: Schulenberg considers three anonymous decorative intabulations of Marenzio madrigals, 'Ecco l'aurora', 'Che fa oggi il mio sole' and 'Liquide perle'. Just the first of these was included by David Smith in his edition of Philips's complete keyboard music (MB 75); Schulenberg agrees that there is 'a strong possibility that the setting of 'Ecco l'aurora' is by Philips, but this cannot be said of the intabulations of [the] two other madrigals by Marenzio' (p. 140).

The 'two other madrigals' (though not, oddly, 'Ecco l'aurora') feature in Chapter 10, 'A Pattern Recognition Approach to the Attribution of Early Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Compositions using Features of Diminutions', by Peter van Kranenburg and Johan Zoutendijk. Works possibly by Bull and William Browne, along with others by Philips, are considered. This is not the first 'authorship' study to explore the potential of the computer to handle huge amounts of information, and will not be the last; the authors readily acknowledge that their current findings are no more than provisional. The difficulty is in deciding what to tell the computer. Peter and Johan limit their present study to diminutions occurring in right or left hand, whilst the other hand has more sustained larger values; in intabulations, at least, the use of this feature avoids any contamination from the model. Their Example 10.4 shows a five-semiquaver diminution pattern beginning on the crotchet beat, given the code -2 1 1 -1 (this would reflect the pitches  $b' - g' - a' - b' - a'$ ). The authors say that this pattern occurs twice in Example 10.3 (three bars of right-hand semiquavers from Philips's *Dolorosa* Pavan), but it cannot be seen there; the figure that does appear twice is -1 1 1 -1. (This is not an adverse criticism, but goes to show how easily errors can creep in!) As for results, without more wide-ranging data it is only for Philips that some tentative conclusions are reached. 'Che fa' has only one passage of the chosen type of diminution



(insufficient evidence) but ‘Liquide perle’ has four, all pointing to Philips as a possible composer.

Pieter Dirksen’s splendid essay on Gibbons’s keyboard music (Chapter 9) again begins with a circumstance noticed by Dart: that a ‘Gibbons’ was among the retinue of Frederick and Elizabeth (dedicatees of *Parthenia*) on their journey to Heidelberg in 1613. Elizabeth’s party were in Amsterdam in May, and it is tempting to suppose that Gibbons and Sweelinck met then. The manuscript Ly 2, the smaller companion to Ly, contains twelve copies from *Parthenia*, six additional pieces by Gibbons and two by Byrd. Among the six is a Galliard in d (MB 20, **23**) found only in Ly 2; Dirksen explores links between this galliard, one in the same mode by Bull (MB 19, **73**) and another by Heinrich Schiedemann. The two latter pieces feature a cantus-firmus-like theme in their third strains (a device apparently first employed by Philips in his 1580 Pavan) and Dirksen writes entertainingly on the way in which both Gibbons and Byrd (in his parody of Morley’s Pavan in F) allude to the technique ‘in a similarly critical spirit’ (p. 164). He ends with suggestions for a chronology of Gibbons’s keyboard music. Altogether this is a well-grounded and thoughtful contribution, filling in the historical record and offering new insights, not only into the music of Gibbons.

Chapter 11 is another authoritative study, this time of a genre: the consort pavan. John Bryan’s survey of the pavan, ‘Full of Art, *and* Profundity’, takes us from the dance’s Italian beginnings to its decline in the age of Purcell, but concentrates on the Elizabethan and Jacobean repertory of five-part consorts. The approach is traditional, with critical analyses of selected examples, but these engage the reader’s attention in a way that is seldom achieved – no doubt thanks in part to the author’s long experience as a viol consort player. He uncovers the ‘artistic pretensions’ (p. 188) of an anonymous pavan from the ‘Lumley’ books, edited by Paul Doe in MB 44, **95**. He does not mention Doe’s opinion (with which he perhaps disagrees) that voice IV, though present in the source, was intended as an optional addition to a work in four parts. There is an economical and perceptive paragraph on Byrd’s sole surviving five-part consort pavan, and we are shown how echoes of *Lachrimae Antiquae*, pervading various examples by Holborne, are seen also in Tomkins’s early A minor pavan and in Philips’s *Dolorosa*: ‘a network [of composers] that shared musical attitudes to the pavan as a sophisticated genre’ (p. 200). The running title is a familiar quotation from Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* of 1676, and describes perfectly the character of the pavans discussed here.

In Chapter 12, Arne Spohr uncovers the activities of another expatriate Englishman, William Brade (c.1560-1630). In 36 years on the continent, Brade changed his employment at least 15 times, his two main bases being the Danish court and the city of Hamburg. One imagines him networking furiously to locate the best position available at any given time! Spohr claims that Brade helped to establish the ‘Hanseatic violin school’ (p. 203), but does not present any evidence that the upper parts of his five- and six-part ensemble dances are for violins (or that the works as a whole are for violin consort). He mentions a solo piece, *Coral violino e Basso*, attributed to Brade in a late source. However, Example 12.1, an extract from a pavan published in 1609, has two treble-clef parts very similar in character to the three lower ones, rising only to a", and apparently suitable for treble viols. One mishap: the caption to Figure 12.1 describes it as ‘William Brade: *Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden Erster Theil* (Hamburg, 1609), title page of “Basso” part’; whereas the illustration is actually of Füllsack and

Hildebrand's anthology *Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden Erster Theil* (Hamburg, 1607), title page of 'Alto' part.

Returning to England, Chapter 13 by Hector Sequera focuses on Catholic networks and on Edward Paston's large collection of manuscripts. These seem to have been prepared for particular performing groups, but direct evidence for such groups is lacking. Sequera investigates wills and inventories listing music-related items belonging to other Catholic households, such as those of Lord and Lady Kytson and Lord Lumley. Of particular interest is the collection of one Hubert Hacon, a gentleman from the Norwich area, whose instruments in two different houses included 'four pairs of virginals, nine cornets, eight lutes, three flutes, two bandoras, four different sizes of viols and one of each of a recorder, sackbut and orpharion' (p. 224); Sequera reckons that Paston would have had access to similar resources. In a final section he discusses possible connections between Paston and Philips, acknowledging that 'only eight works by Philips survive in the Paston collection' (p. 226; Appendix 13.1 on p. 228 lists ten).

Lastly we again travel south for Abigail Ballantyne's 'Social Networking in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The "Harmonious Letters" of a Monk-Musician'. The Benedictine monk, music theorist, and composer Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634) was also a prolific letter writer. He published his letters in two collections, *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628) and *Lettere scritte* (Bologna, 1630), thereby preserving his side of his correspondence with fellow musicians (including Monteverdi), printer-publishers, poets, literary scholars, clerics, and civic officials. With aptly chosen quotations from a variety of these letters, the author demonstrates how Banchieri exchanged ideas on music and sought patronage for his compositions and theoretical writings. More informally, some letters accompany Christmas gifts or wish the recipient happy holidays. Ballantyne's final sentence neatly rounds off not only her own contribution but also the whole book: 'The technological sophistication of social networking may have dramatically increased since the early seventeenth century, but its *modus operandi* remains the same' (p. 250).

A review of a multi-authored book can do little more than outline its diverse contents. This book, though, is especially valuable for the wealth of detail provided by all the contributors, not least in the extensive footnotes. It is not surprising that a few inconsistencies and minor errors have escaped the editorial eye. '11 September 1591' (p. 12) is the date on which John Baldwin completed his copying of the Nevell book; the year of George Gilpin's first letter to William Cecil was 1593. Referring to the 3/2 bars in a galliard as 'breves' is imprecise (pp. 83-85, 87). Ex. 8.10 (p. 128), like the extract from 'God save the King', is from MB 14, not MB 27. The foremost Bull source, *F-Pc* Rés. 1185, 'in all likelihood written by John Bull' (p. 159), 'is no longer thought to be Bull's autograph' (p. 148, n. 88). 'William the Solent' (p. 165) usually keeps 'Silent'. Such slips are unimportant. The List of Manuscript Sigla on pp. xvii-xix, the Bibliography, and the Index (all covering the whole book) are most efficiently organised and very useful. All in all, *Networks of Music and Culture* throws engrossing light on the channels of communication in Europe four centuries ago, and can be warmly recommended to all who are involved in any way with early keyboard or consort music.

# A German Baroque Viol Tutor

RICHARD CARTER

Anonymous, *Instruction oder eine anweisung auff der Violadigamba (Instruction or a method for the Viola da Gamba)*, facsimile ed. Bettina Hoffmann (Edition Güntersberg G240, Heidelberg, 2014), xii + 56 pages.  
ISMN 979-0-50174-240-0 €23.50

This anonymous manuscript, *Instruction oder eine anweisung auff der Violadigamba*—the only German language tutor devoted entirely to the viol to have survived from either the Renaissance or Baroque—has been in the Stadtbibliothek in Leipzig since 1856. It was just one item in an enormous collection of music prints and manuscripts presented to the library by the composer, musician and musicologist Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804-1877). Its provenance is obscure: Becker did not divulge the circumstances of his acquisition of it in 1844, nor did he explain his reasons for dating it ‘around 1730’. This new edition presents the manuscript in facsimile, along with a transcription and an English translation, prefaced by a short introduction in German and English, and seems to mark its first appearance in the modern literature. It is not clear whether it was ‘hitherto unknown’ or known only to a small circle—no previous articles or reports are cited, nor is anybody credited as ‘discoverer’.

By anyone’s standards, then, this is an important publication, particularly for anyone with an interest in the viol outside France at the beginning of its twilight years. I suspect that most, like me, will want to offer a vote of grateful thanks to Bettina Hoffmann for undertaking the arduous task of transcribing and interpreting the text. As is usual for the time, the German text (the vast majority) was written in *Kurrentschrift*, only Latin or Italian terms appear in familiar Latin characters. The character forms of *Kurrentschrift* are related to those of Gothic or Fraktur typefaces; when it went out of use in the twentieth century it vanished remarkably quickly out of popular memory, and today most German speakers are unable to read it fluently, if at all.

The work of the editor did not end with the transcription. The final paragraph of the German introduction begins thus (my translation, this passage is not present in the English): ‘The translation into English is based on my exegetical version of the original text, whose meaning is not always immediately apparent: the translation may also serve to assist understanding for German readers.’ Thus one stage of the interpretative process does not appear in the edition, and readers conversant with only English or German will have quite different reading experiences from each other, and from readers comfortable in both. However, editorial comments both in the transcription and the translation are clearly identified, and I have found nothing in Michael O’Loghlin’s translation which is obviously inconsistent with the original. Praise is also due for the translation, the advantages of engaging a native speaker who knows the subject are manifest!

The main body of the edition presents the 27 pages of the manuscript, one page per opening, with the (raw) transcription and translation facing black and white halftone facsimile images. According to the stated dimensions these images are slightly enlarged, and the quality is good—perhaps not good enough for detailed study, as may be judged by the noticeably better quality of the two selected pages reproduced in colour on the front and back covers (these are however reduced in size). There may in fact soon be another option: on the homepage of the University of Leipzig there is an announcement of a project to digitise the entire Becker collection.<sup>1</sup> This is scheduled for 2010-2013, although I was not able to locate images of the *Instruction*.

The Introduction summarizes what little is known for certain about the manuscript, outlines its content, and highlights a few items worthy of special consideration, without drawing any firm conclusions. One section is a little more speculative, a shortlist of seven possible authors, six of whom were viol players, drawn up on the basis of C.F. Becker's suggested date, and the fact that most of the other manuscripts in his collection are connected in some way to cities in Saxony. The suggestion that the neatly organised, largely error-free presentation might be the work of a professional copyist is thoroughly plausible—I wonder whether the occasional supplementary annotations in a different and decidedly scruffier hand were added by a pupil?

What of the content of the manuscript? On the final page the author signs off with: 'When a scholar has understood and put into practice these instructions, he needs no further information, and can assist himself.' This seems a grandiose claim for such a modest document. Of its 26 pages of text and music examples, only about one third deal with purely viol-related matters. The remainder cover basic musical concepts, note names and values, tempo markings, ornaments etc., which are framed so as to relate to the bass viol, e.g. the use of bass and alto clefs for the music examples (the manuscript does not deal with any size other than the six-stringed bass). Viol basics such as posture and bow hold are not covered, neither are there any pieces to play, so this is not a tutor in the sense of Walsh and Hare's 'The Compleat Violist' (London, c. 1700), let alone Simpson's 'The Division-Violist' (London, 1659, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1667, reprinted 1713) or Rousseau's 'Traité de la viole' (Paris, 1687).

Much of the content is uncontroversial, but the page of bowing examples stands out as a possible challenge to modern practice. As Bettina Hoffmann points out, the examples draw heavily on Georg Muffat's bowing instructions (*Florilegium secundum*, Passau, 1698), not only in the symbols used, but also in the sense of relating forward and back bows very closely to strong and weak beats in the bar. This leads to a significant number of consecutive forward bows, even on pairs of quavers (interestingly retaking on a forward bow is also frequently indicated in the Kassel tablatures, D-Kl MS. 4<sup>o</sup> Mus. 108.2-7). There are also a few light touches—basic note values and names are presented simultaneously in a scale which begins with a semibreve on *D*, rising through a bar each of successively shorter note values before cascading downwards from *g'* to *G* in semiquavers and making the final descent to *D* via dotted note

<sup>1</sup> <[www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/forschungsbibliothek/projekte/projekte-chronologisch/musikbibliothek-von-carl-ferdinand-becker/](http://www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/forschungsbibliothek/projekte/projekte-chronologisch/musikbibliothek-von-carl-ferdinand-becker/)> accessed 06.12.14

patterns in ever increasing note values. Later in the guide to notation symbols there are hints on recognizing where a copyist has crossed out a mistake.

Two features of the manuscript not singled out in the Introduction seem to me worthy of comment, as they throw possibly useful light on the author's understanding of tonality.

The presentation of note names appears to be anomalous. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the modern German system of naming inflected notes was not yet fully established—sharpened notes had *-is* added to the note name (e.g. *fis* = F sharp), but the corresponding addition of *-es* to flattened notes had not yet been introduced, which meant that a notated G flat was usually also called *fis*, and not *ges*, as nowadays. Johann Jacob Prinner, in his *Musikalische Schliessl* of 1677, does this, but also explains that flattened notes could be differentiated by adding *mol* to the letter name (i.e. *g mol* = G flat). By the time of Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, published in 1752, the modern naming conventions were almost fully in place (his thorough account tells us that all that was missing was a generally agreed name for the double flat). The author of the *Instruction*, however, confusingly designates E sharp and A sharp as *es* and *as*, instead of the expected *eis* and *ais*, thus using the terms which were very soon to mean E flat and A flat.

Related to this oddity is the presentation of tonality, which takes the form of a series of music examples, the same two cadential flourishes and a bass formula, transposed for each key. The flourishes are fully written out in sixteen keys, minor and major (*mol* and *duhr*) on each of the eight notes which in German have a simple letter name: A, B (B flat), C, D, E, F, G, and H (B natural). The remaining eight keys, major and minor on C sharp, D sharp, F sharp and G sharp are simply listed as 'very rarely used'. This means that the list of common keys excludes E flat major whilst including F minor, E major, B major and B flat minor.

Without a more closely defined context the significance of the manuscript is difficult to assess. Until we know more about the circumstances of its genesis and the status of its author it is only possible to speculate on how much weight can be attached to its content. Much could change, if Becker were shown to have been wrong about the date, or the manuscript were found to originate elsewhere. But such speculation oversteps the bounds of a review: the main purpose of this facsimile edition is to make this fascinating source widely accessible for discussion, and to get the ball rolling with a few pointers and suggestions, all of which it achieves admirably.

\* \* \*

Note: some of C.F. Becker's works, including the catalogue of his collection mentioned in the editor's Introduction are available online in the digital library of the *Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum*:

[http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=autoren\\_index&ab=Becker%2C+Carl+Ferdinand&l=de](http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=autoren_index&ab=Becker%2C+Carl+Ferdinand&l=de)

## NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

JOËLLE MORTON is a widely sought performer and teacher North America, Europe and Brazil, specializing in a variety of period instruments, including Renaissance and Baroque violas da gamba, violoni and historical double basses. Active primarily as a soloist and chamber musician, Joëlle directs the Scaramella chamber music series in Toronto as well as free-lancing extensively. Since 2005 Joëlle has been on the faculty at the University of Toronto, where she additionally serves as curator and Viol Consultant for the Hart House collection of antique viols. She is the author of a number of scholarly articles and musical editions. A scholarly performer's edition of all of Bartolomeo de Selma's works for one and two instruments is due early in 2015 (through [www.septenaryeditions.com](http://www.septenaryeditions.com)) and the complete works of Orazio and Francesco Maria Bassani are also in final preparation. Joëlle's website ([www.greatbassviol.com](http://www.greatbassviol.com)) has since 2001 served as an important international resource to those interested in researching large bowed bass instruments.

THOMAS FRITZSCH was born in Zwickau (Germany) and grew up amid the lively Saxon tradition of church music and music-making in the home; he is one of the most renowned gambists in the world today and has appeared at concert halls throughout Europe and on the stages of major musical centres, including New York, Boston, Tokyo, Seoul, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Havana, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv. His concert appearances are supplemented by teaching and conducting seminars and interpretation classes in Europe and the US, numerous radio and television productions, an extensive discography, and journalistic work as editor of early music and author of musicological publications. Drawing on his historical knowledge, Thomas Fritzsche enthusiastically searches for and discovers lost and forgotten works of the gamba literature which were composed during the late blossoming of the instrument on the threshold of the 19th century. Among his most spectacular discoveries were the four sonatas for viola da gamba and harpsichord/pianoforte by Johann Christian Bach, which he premiered at the Leipzig Bach Festival in 2008. The first recording of these works (with Shalev Ad-El), released on Coviello Classics in 2012, was internationally acclaimed, and Robert Marshall praised Fritzsche as "the Casals of the gamba."

PIA PIRCHER, born in Vienna, is a viol player, artist and researcher on viol music. From early childhood she developed a keen interest in the aesthetic, philosophical and cultural background of the arts, and expressivity in music, particularly on the viol. Her aim is to develop a contemporary approach to playing the instrument. Currently she is completing a doctorate in musicology and studying with Vittorio Ghielmi at the Mozarteum Salzburg. Pia has received numerous prizes and scholarships, including the first prize of the 11th Biagio-Marini-Competition, the 5th prize at the 5th Int. Viola da gamba competition, further she was finalist of the 4th Int. Competition Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli. Pia received the annual art scholarship 2013/14 granted by the Austrian ministry of culture, the Leverhulme Postgraduate Studentship and a PRO SCIENTIA scholarship. She has participated in masterclasses with Wieland Kuijken, Paolo Pandolfo and Hille Perl, and her studies brought her to the Musikhochschule Trossingen (Lorenz Duftschmid), the Royal College of Music (Richard Boothby, Reiko Ichise) and the Mozarteum Salzburg (Vittorio Ghielmi). She has performed with ensembles including Le concert des nations, English Touring Opera, Armonico Tributo Austria, Staatskapelle Dresden, and with artists such as Dorothee Oberlinger, Hiro Kurosaki, Jordi Savall, Reinhard Goebel and Vittorio Ghielmi in venues across Europe and the Far East as both a chamber musician and soloist. Most recently, Pia performed as a soloist at the London

Handel Festival, Queens Gallery/Buckingham Palace, the Cobe Collection, Styriarte Festival and Trigonale Festival, with the Wiener Sängerknaben, Reinhard Goebel and Dresdner Staatskapelle, and gave lectures at the international Biannual Conference on Baroque Music, the International Festival of Viols London, for PRO SCIENTIA and gave the speech for the graduation ceremony at Mozarteum 2014.

PETER HOLMAN is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds. He has wide interests in English music from about 1550 to 1850, and the history of instruments and instrumental music. He is the author of the prize-winning *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (1993), and studies of Henry Purcell (1994), and Dowland's *Lachrimae* (1999), as well as numerous scholarly articles. His most recent book, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in November 2010. As a performer he is director of The Parley of Instruments, the Suffolk Villages Festival and Leeds Baroque. He was awarded an MBE for services to Early Music in the New Year's Honours, 2015

JOHN MILSOM has written extensively on Tudor music. Recent projects include an edition of *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, published in 2014 in the series Early English Church Music. In collaboration with Jessie Ann Owens, he is currently preparing a new critical edition of Thomas Morley's *A plaine and easie introduction to practick musicke* (1597). His online resource, the *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, addresses the contents and provenance history of the eighteenth-century music collections at Christ Church, Oxford. He is a Professorial Fellow at Liverpool Hope University.

ALAN BROWN retired in 2006 from Sheffield University, where he was Reader in Music. He has edited four volumes in the series *Musica Britannica* (two of them devoted to the keyboard music of William Byrd), two volumes of *The Byrd Edition* (the *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1589 and 1591), and, jointly with Richard Turbet, *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge, 1992). Currently he is preparing a revised third edition of *Musica Britannica* vol. 19, *John Bull: Keyboard Music II*.

RICHARD CARTER grew up in a musical family, playing the 'cello, but was dissuaded from studying music and took a degree in Physics at New College, Oxford. Dissatisfied with the career which unfolded, he spent twenty years living and working on the English canals. Increasing interest in early music and historical performance led him to taking up the viol and baroque 'cello, with encouragement and guidance from Stewart McCoy, Alison Crum and Catherine Finnis. Since moving to Austria in 2002 he has devoted himself to early music, supporting and joining in the teaching and performance activities of his partner, Johanna Valencia, and running a small publishing venture, Oriana Music, with a special emphasis on lyra viol and viol music for beginners. He is a founder member of the Vienna-based viol consort Almayne, and a former editor of this Journal (2009).